THE

HISTORY OF INDIA,

AS TOLD

BY ITS OWN HISTORIANS.

THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.

THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS

OF THE LATE

SIR H. M. ELLIOT, K.C.B.,

EDITED AND CONTINUED

BY

PROFESSOR JOHN DOWSON, M.R.A.S.,

STAFF COLLEGE, SANDHURST

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PREFACE.

Eleven years have elapsed since the materials collected by Sir H. M Elliot for this work were first placed in my hands for revision and publication. In bulk the papers seemed sufficient and more than sufficient for the projected work, and it was thought that an Editor would have little to do beyond selecting extracts for publication and revising the press. With this belief I undertook the work, and it was announced as preparing for publication under my care. When the papers came into my possession, and the work of selection was entered upon, I soon found that the MSS, so far from being superabundant, were very deficient, and that for some of the most important reigns, as those of Akbar and Aurangzeb, no provision had been made. The work had been long advertised, and had received the support of the Secretary of State for India, not as a series of Selections from the Papers of Sir H. M. Elliot, but as a continuous "History of India as told by its own Historians" I had thus unwittingly undertaken the editing of a complete History out of very incomplete and disjointed materials. So I had to determine whether to make the best of the matter provided, or to

fill up the blanks and finish the work by my own unassisted labour. Had this prospect been presented to me at the first, I should probably have shrunk from undertaking the task; for I should not only have distrusted my ability, but have felt that the time and labour required were greater than I could bestow. But I had put my hand to the plough, and had promised the publication of a complete history, so I resolved that it should be as perfect as my labour and ability could make it. Happily I have had the leisure and have been blessed with health to finish my undertaking; but although I rejoice over the conclusion, I part with regret from a work which has occupied my constant thought and care for so many years.

I am conscious that there must be many imperfections and errors in the eight volumes. The voluminous extent of the work would not allow of deliberate study, for the utmost span of life I could hope for would not have sufficed for anything like full and careful study of every MS. I have had to examine. Living far away from great libraries, I have had access to few books beyond my own limited collection, and I have seldom enjoyed the advantage of taking counsel with others upon doubtful passages and obscure allusions. The completion of the work has been my grand aim; and to achieve this end, I have often pressed on when I would have preferred to wait and consider—to inquire for other copies of MSS., and to examine and compare the statements of other writers. Nearly, if not quite half of the matter contained in the whole eight volumes, has been supplied by my own pen, and a large portion of the other half

has required extensive revision. Besides all this, and the superintendence of the press, there has been the long and wearisome labour of going through many tedious and lengthy Persian MSS., as well as crabbed translations, in search of passages for publication, and often with little result.

One portion of the work has been subjected to very sharp and hostile criticism. Since the publication of the second volume, in which some extracts from the *Tabakát-i Násirí* appeared, Major Raverty has undertaken a complete translation of that work, and has published a considerable portion. Many years ago the late Lord Strangford characterized Major Raverty as "a ready censurer of the errors and shortcomings of his precursors,"[1] and time has by no means changed his disposition. His work abounds with sarcastic censures cast on other writers, but contains very little in acknowledgment of the assistance he has received from the labours of his predecessors. It is no difficult matter to criticise and point out errors in the best of translations, especially when the original texts vary and are unsettled. If such criticisms are couched in fair and courteous terms, they are acceptable to both authors and readers, but no benefit can accrue to any one from captious and sneering animadversions. Had Major Raverty's criticisms on this work affected only me personally, they should have passed without observation, but for the credit of this publication, I have gone through his observations seriatim, in a few pages supplementary to this Preface, and am greatly rejoiced

[1] Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1862, p 54

that such an eager critic has found so little real cause for complaint. I have tried to treat his criticisms in a calm and judicial spirit, and I have given him full credit for such real improvements as his practical knowledge and additional MSS. have enabled him to make. For these corrections, but not for his manner of making them, I tender my thanks

It is not for me to pass a judgment on the value of this publication But whatever its imperfections, it has been the means of bringing to the knowledge of Europeans, the merits and demerits of many histories, some entirely unknown, or, if known at all, known only by name and repute It may be that valuable writings still remain undiscovered, but until they are brought to light, this work will serve, not simply as a store of original information, but as a guide to the sources from which critical and diligent investigators may seek for help and enlightenment upon obscure and doubtful matters. It brings down the history of the Muhammadan Empire in India to the close, but it contains little relating to the independent dynasties of the Dakhin. Sir H. M. Elliot included the history of these dynasties in the ultimate scope of his work, and had obtained a few MSS. for the purpose, but no translations have been made. There are materials from which these histories might be compiled, and the publication of them would complete the Musulman history of Musulman India.

It only now remains to perform the grateful task of expressing my thanks for assistance received. To Mr. E. Thomas I have been indebted for many valuable hints and observations throughout the whole course of

the work. To Dr. Rieu I have written without hesitation whenever I required information about MSS. in the British Museum, and have always received a prompt, courteous, and full reply. I am also greatly indebted to Mr. Blochmann, of the Calcutta Madrasa, who has taken a lively interest in the progress of this work, and has pointed out errors and suggested improvements in the spirit of a true scholar. Distance has prevented frequent communication with him, and I regret that I have been unable to profit more by his deep and extensive knowledge of Muhammadan historians The care and intelligence with which the work has been printed by Messrs. Austin has saved me much trouble, and deserves my acknowledgment

It has been my constant intention to give full credit to those translators whose MSS have been printed in these volumes, to name the sources from which materials have been drawn, and to acknowledge every help that has been rendered. If I have ever failed in doing this, it has been through ignorance or accident, and in spite of my best intentions

The articles in this volume are numerous, and it is not possible to give a complete list of the translators. The bibliographical notices, with the exception of a few compiled by the Editor, are no doubt the work of Sir H. M Elliot, for although they have been copied out fair by his amanuensis, the original drafts of many of them still remain in Sir Henry's handwriting Some of the Extracts were apparently translated by *munshis* The following list gives the names of the translators as far as the Editor has been able to ascertain them

LXXXV.—Khulásatu-t Tawáríkh—Editor
LXXXVII.—Tazkira-i Chaghatáí—Editor
XCIII.—Jauhar-i Samsám—Major Fuller
XCIV.—Tazkira-i Ánand Rám Mukhlis—Lieut Perkins
C.—Táríkh-i Ahmad Sháh—Sir Douglas Forsyth
CI.—Bayán-i Wakí'—Lieut Prichard
CII.—Táríkh-i 'Álamgír Sání—Editor
CIII.— ,, Manázilu-l Futúh—Major Fuller
CXVI.— ,, Shahádat-i Farrukh Siyar—Editor
CXIX.—'Ibrat-náma—Editor
CXXI.—Taríkh-i Ibrahím Khan—Major Fuller
CXXVI.—Gul-i Rahmat—Editor
CXXVIII.—Táríkh-i Muzaffarí—Editor
CXLII.—'Imadu-s Sa'adat—Editor
CXLIII.—Nigar-náma-i Hind—Major Fuller

Copious Indexes to the whole work, in three divisions, Bibliographical, Geographical, and General, are given at the end of this Volume The want of partial Indexes has been felt as the Volumes have appeared, but the superior facilities afforded by the complete Indexes now supplied will more than compensate for the temporary inconvenience experienced during the progress of the work.

EXAMINATION OF MAJOR RAVERTY'S CRITICISMS OF THE *TABAKAT-I NASIRI* AS TRANSLATED IN VOL II OF THIS WORK

In the Preface a reference has been made to Major Raverty's criticisms of a portion of this work They are here noticed and examined seriatim

Major Raverty begins the section relating to the Ghaznívides with a note condemning the text printed in the "Bibliotheca Indica" and the MSS belonging to the India Office and the Royal Asiatic Society These MSS, according to Major Raverty, "are the most defective and incorrect of any" he has "collated" The Editor of this work used the MS of the Asiatic Society and one belonging to Sir H Elliot, but they were inferior to the printed edition, and so the latter was the text used Major Raverty has collected thirteen MSS, and they may have all the excellences which he attributes to them, but the fullest MSS are not always the best The interpolations of ignorant or half-informed scribes are worse than omissions—for they lead astray and bewilder the reader These MSS, however, have cleared away some errors in the texts that I used, and I have gladly adopted such new readings as seem to be improvements

I —Page 68 The opening of the history of Subuktigin gives Major Raverty occasion for a long and laboured note The translation he gives of the passage is as follows "He had heard that his (Subuktigin's) father used to be called by the name of Kará Bah-Kam, and that his (proper) name was Húk, and that Ghar-gháú in the Turkish language is called Bah-Kam, and that the meaning of Kará Bah-Kam would be the Black Tatar Bull"

Here it is obvious that the sentence about *ghar-gháú* is altogether superfluous, and it may be blotted out without making any difference

in the sense of the passage. This can hardly have been the intention of the author. The original words as given in the printed text are—

شيد که پدر سبکتگين را قرا بحکم گفتندي و نامش جوق بود و غوغارا
بترکي بحکم خوانند و معني قرا بحکم سياه غوغا باشد

Major Raverty gives the variants of eleven MSS The differences are only in the words here given as *jauk* and *ghaughá* He adopts the form *Hük* in preference to *jauk* After running through all the variants of the other word, he comes to the conclusion that "the word *must* be *ghajz-ghão*," although the form *ghajz* never once occurs, and then, by arbitrarily changing the غ of *ghão* into گث, he brings forth his "Black Tátar Bull" Then comes his criticism "In Elliot (Vol II p 266) the passage in question is thus translated 'His (Subuktigin's) father was called *Jauk* (troop), and in Turki they call a troop *bahkam* (on whose authority I wonder ?), so that the meaning of the name *Kará-bahkam* is black troop' From this it will be seen that the translator has discarded altogether both عشر علو of MSS 10 and 11, and غوغا of the printed text, and has given the person's Turkish *real*-name as the equivalent (the Persian equivalent, it must be supposed) of his Turkish *nick*-name, so according to this theory حوق means troop, and بحکم also means troop, but what becomes of the Persian سياه غوغا etc, the translator sayeth not' *Jauk* however is Arabic for a party, a troop, etc, but what بحکم may mean remains to be proved" It is unnecessary to follow him through the alterations of letters and the guesses by which he arrives at the conclusion that it means "Black Wolf," and supposes this to be in some way identical with his "Black Tatar Bull"

The whole of Major Raverty's censure of the translation in Elliot evidently springs from his ignorance of the meaning of the word *ghaughá*, which among other meanings has that of "company, assembly, multitude of people" If he had consulted his dictionary, instead of indulging in guesses and alterations of letters, he would have seen that the printed text has a clear and coherent meaning, and that the translation which he censures is exact and complete, no word is omitted The unintelligible words of the MS have certainly been discarded, but in favour of the *siyáh ghaughá* of the print

II —In page 76 Major Raverty begins a long note about Waihind

In this he censures my rendering a passage of Rashídu-d dín at p 47, Vol I, by "uniting near the fort of Dirúna, (the waters) fall into the Nurokirát." Reinaud's rendering of the original passage in Bírúni is, "Near the fort of Dirúna it is joined by the waters of Núr and Kirát" This was unknown to me at the time I had the Persian version, which might be rendered as "the river Núrokirat," or "the river of Núr and Kirát" Curiously enough, Major Raverty cites the Arabic version which decided my reading The words are لنور و قرات which he translates "into the river of Un Núr and Kirát." But if the first letter is the article *un*, where does he find "into"? The words say simply "into Núrokirát", the word "river" is Major Raverty's addition There can be no doubt that the Arabic translator understood his Persian original to mean "the river Núrokirát," and as the Persian text has that meaning, I made my translation so as to be in accord with both versions Reinaud's translation of Bírúní, "the waters of Nur and Kirát," shows that the Arabic translator of Rashídu-d dín took a wrong, though justifiable, view of his text, and led me into error Major Raverty seems to be so well acquainted with "the *darah* of Núr" that it is a pity he did not describe it more distinctly Sir H M Elliot's knowledge did not extend beyond what this passage supplies

III —Page 80 Major Raverty says "In Vol II page 269 of Elliot a passage is thus translated 'On the same night that he (Mahmúd) was born, an idol temple in India, in the vicinity of Parsháwar, on the banks of the Sind, fell down'!" There is nothing like giving a *bold* translation" The words of the text are—

در آں شب کہ ولادت او بود بتخانه ويهند کہ در حدود پرشاور بود بر لب آب سند بشکست

It would be difficult to make a more precise translation of this than the one above given Major Raverty's translation is, "The idol temple of Wahand or Bihand (it may also be read Wahind or Bahind), which was situated on the confines of Barshábur, on the bank of the Sind, split asunder" This shows that the fault is in the text, not in the translator If any MS gives وهند instead of بيهند, that reading may be readily accepted, but in the absence of such reading, it would have been *bold* to alter the text

IV.—Page 90. Major Raverty objects to the rendering of *ghárat-kardand* by "*destroyed*" in the passage (Elliot, page 271), "Mas'úd ordered him to be made prisoner and his whole force to be destroyed." *Ghárat* means "*plunder*," "*hostile incursion*," and the word "*destroy*" is too strong, though it is not to be supposed that the plundering could be effected without killing. Having expressed this censure, Major Raverty should have been careful to be accurate himself, and should not have made one word into two by translating *ghárat* as "plundered and despoiled." In the same page he also objects to "killed" as the translation of *sáhib-i wáki'ah*, and says the phrase does not mean *killed*. *Wáki'ah* means both "misfortune" and "death," so that the words do mean "killed," and the translation was allowable; but as the man in question is mentioned afterwards, the translation should have been, "When Mas'úd fell into misfortune at Marikala."

V.—Page 91. The meaning which Major Raverty assigns to the word *bel* is probable, and although I can find no other authority for it, I have inserted it among the corrections.

VI.—Page 98. Major Raverty translates the words

اخبار سماع داشت و روایت کردی

by, "He was a depository of the oral traditions which he was wont to narrate," and adds a note: "Translated by Mr. Dowson (Elliot, p. 274), 'used to listen to chronicles and write history.'" As *akhbar* means "chronicles" and *sama'* means "hearing," there is some warrant for the rendering, but how it is twisted into "a depository of the oral traditions," I am unable to discover. The word *riwáyat* means "history, narrative, relation, tale," and any one of these may be added to the verb "he was wont to make." On reconsideration of the passage, I have come to the conclusion that as *samá'* means "fame, report," as well as "hearing," the phrase may be more accurately rendered by, "He knew many famous stories which he used to tell."

VII.—Page 101. "Every copy of the work collated has (with two exceptions, which have مرغان) the word مرغان signifying 'birds,' etc., as plainly written as it is possible to write; but in the printed text مسرعان has been substituted, and Mr. Dowson of course follows the printed text." As Mr. Dowson had only two inferior MSS., he certainly followed the intelligible print and gave the translation (Vol. II. p. 276) of "fleet messengers." He would have hesitated long

before he converted *murghán* "birds," "fowls," into "carrier-pigeons," as Major Raverty has done

VIII —Page 102 "The original text is موارض و موبات (not *mútán*), which Mr. Dowson renders '*disease and murrain*,' and adds in a note, 'The former words (sic) mean literally diseases, but it (sic) is also used for those diseases of the body politic, extraordinary imposts' Does *múnát* also mean '*murrain*' in the body politic?" The printed text has *'awárız o mútán*, and I translated this (page 276) by "diseases and murrain," for which the dictionaries give full warrant The words form one of those reiterative phrases of which the Persians are so fond I knew nothing of موبات, and now that I do, I prefer the text of the print and my own translation to Major Raverty's rendering, "(The levying) of heavy contributions in taxes and supplies" The two *sics* which Major Raverty has inserted in his quotation are characteristic It is easy to be seen that by a printer's accident "word means" has been converted into "words mean"

IX —Page 103 "Mr Dowson translates (page 277) 'He bestowed no favours upon any one, and hence apprehensions about his rule took possession of the hearts of the people'" Major Raverty's rendering is, "Awe of his authority was implanted in the hearts of all people" The difference is not very great, but I prefer my own rendering, and hold to it Major Raverty quotes the text—

بدين سبب حسبتي ارسلطنت او در دل خلق متمكن شد

and has incorrectly written حيبتى for هيبتى.

X —Page 104 Major Raverty translates the passage which stands in the print— چند بارة و قصبه بنا فرمود

by "he founded several towns" He adds a note "In Elliot's India, Vol II p 277, this passage is translated, 'several fortified places and towns were founded,'" and expatiates upon the fact that "*Kasbah* does not mean fortified places" The words are rightly translated, for *bárah* means "walls, fortifications," and *kasbah* means "towns"

XI —In the same page 104, Major Raverty translates the words—

سادات كرام و علماي با نام

by "illustrious Saiyids and dignified Ulamá" This had been rendered in Elliot (Vol. II p 277) by "illustrious nobles and learned men of re-

pute." The difference is small, and quite unworthy of notice, but as it has been dragged forward, it may be remarked that one translation is partial, the other complete, and that *bá-nám* means "famous, having a name," rather than "dignified."

XII.—Page 106. Here Major Raverty has hit a real, but not an important blot. The sentence (Vol. II. p. 278), "He restored to the nobles," should read "he confirmed."

XIII.—Page 107. Major Raverty translates the opening sentence of the reign of Malik Arslán as follows: "Malik Arsalan-i 'Abdu-l Mulúk, son of Sultán Mas'úd, ascended the throne in the year 509 A.H. at Garmsír itself, and assumed the sovereignty of the empire of Ghaznín." He adds the following note: "The original is برخود گرمسیر. The passage is translated in Elliot (Vol. II. p. 278) thus: 'Malik Arslán Abú-l Malik (*sic*) ascended the throne A.H. 509 (A.D. 1115), and *brought Garmsír and the kingdom of Ghazni under his rule.*' I wonder what throne he ascended if it was not that of the kingdom of Ghaznín?" The words of the text (p. 22) are

ملک ارسلان ابوالملوک (sic) درسنه تسع و خمسمایه بملک نشست
و گرمسیر و ممالک غزنین در تصرف خود داشت

These words will bear no other meaning than that assigned to them in Elliot, and Major Raverty might have seen that they accurately represent the text. Adopting for once his own style of criticism, I may say of his translation: I wonder of what empire it was that Malik Arslan assumed the sovereignty of, if it was not that of Ghaznín?

XIV.—In page 318 Major Raverty translates the passage rendered in Elliot (Vol. II. p. 284) "the inaccessibility of the mountains of Rasíat, which are in Ghor," by "the natural impregnability of the strong mountains which are in Ghor," and he has a note: "The word *rásiat* is not a proper name, but the plural of *rásiah*, which means 'strong mountains.'" The words of the printed text are

حصانت جبال راسیات

and here the word is treated more like a proper than a common noun. A few lines lower the order of the words is reversed, and we have "*rásiát jibál*." Johnson's definition is "*Rásiyat* (pl. *rawási*), firm (mountain)." He does not give *rásiat*, but he again explains his plural *rawási* by "firm (mountains)." Meninski is fuller. He says

Rásiyat is the feminine of *Rási*, which he explains "Firmus ac immotus persistens, *uti mons*" The translation in Elliot was made by a *munshi*, whose rendering was "hills of Rásiát" The *munshi's* word "hills" has been changed into "mountains" in Sir Henry Elliot's own hand, so that the translation has the weight of his authority The word *rásiát* is used in a curious way, but Major Raverty's explanation is worthy of consideration

XV —In page 319 Major Raverty's MSS enabled him to correct the words Faj Hamisár, which were given from the printed text in Elliot (page 285), into "Faj (defile, pass) of Khaesár" He adds, "Khaesár is a well-known place, and is mentioned in a number of places throughout the work" The correction is acceptable, but faults of the text afford no ground for repeated sneers at the translators

XVI —Page 351 I willingly accept the rendering "fastened up the skirts of their coats of mail," or rather "threw back (*báz zadand*) the skirts of their coats of mail," instead of the words, "throwing off their coats of mail," which appear in Elliot, page 287 That the heroes should throw off their armour when about to creep under and rip up two elephants is, however, not so improbable as Major Raverty deems it The Waterloo Life Guardsman is said to have told the Prince Regent that he "would have liked fighting in his shirt sleeves better than in a cuirass"

XVII —Page 441 In page 291 of Elliot there is a note as follows "Sang-i Surkh, a strong fort in Ghor, probably near the Hari river" Major Raverty deems this "impossible" He says, "It is the name of a pass near the Halmand river about N N W of Ghaznín on the route from that city and also from Kabul into Ghúr" This is a matter of opinion, and may be left to the reader's judgment, but Major Raverty's local knowledge must be taken into account

XVIII —Page 532 In page 302 of Elliot there is the following passage "He took the city of Multán, and Hindústán, Dewal, etc, and all as far as the sea" Major Raverty has "He possessed himself of the city of Multan, and Sindústán and Diwal as far as the sea-coast" A note to Sindústan adds, "That is, Siwastán, also called Shiw-astán, by some Hindu writers Siwastán is turned into Hindústán in Elliot's India." The printed text has "Hindústán," and again the translator is blamed for being true to his text I have met with

Siwistán in various forms, but I have not seen either "Sindústán" or "Shiw-astán"

XIX.—Page 534 Here a real error is noted The words in Elliot (Vol II 303) "After the victory of Nandua-tarí, the Mughal prince," should read, "After the victory of Nandana, Tari (or Tolí), the Mughal prince" This fault in the punctuation was overlooked by the Editor.

XX.—*Page 539* The words لشکر خلج از جمله لشکر خوارزمیان This is translated in Elliot (p 303), "The army of Khilj consisting of all the forces of Khwárizm" Raverty's rendering is, "a body of [the tribe] of Khalj, a part of the Khwarazmí forces" In this the first *lashkar* is expunged, and the hypothetical "tribe" is substituted The words of the text are not precise Literally they read, "The army of Khilj out of the army of the Khwárizmís"

XXI.—Page 541 In page 304 of Elliot there is the following "The Fírozí college at Uch was consigned to the care of the author On the provocation of the army of Bahrám Shah in 624, Sultán Sa'id Shamsu-d dín encamped in sight of Uch" Major Raverty translates, "The Firuzi college of Uchchah was committed to the charge of the author, together with the office of Kázi of the forces of 'Aláu-d din Bahrám Shah" This is an undoubted improvement, but the words in the printed text (باقتضای) will not allow of it As, however, Major Raverty makes a note about the "Kází-ship," it may be assumed that some of his MSS have قضای instead of اقتضای, and the amendment may be admitted

XXII.—Page 556 Here there is a note about the difference between "consenting" and "making peace," and another concerning the "leg below the knee" (page 308), in preference to the short word "shins" used in Elliot These are unworthy of further notice

XXIII.—Page 559 The correction about the *khutba* in page 309 of Elliot had been made, upon the suggestion of Mr Thomas, before Major Raverty's book appeared.—*Chronicles of the Pathán Kings*, p 111

XXIV.—Page 565 Major Raverty here shows that in the last line of page 310 the words "(the author)" should be inserted after "he" to prevent the ambiguity which has arisen from closely following the text.

XXV.—Page 566 In page 153 of the printed text there is the following curious passage—

و تمامت سلاح آن جماعت از پارهاي ني نيزه بود چنانچه جوشن
و برگستوان و سپر و خود همه قطعه قطعه بريشم خام برهم بسته و دوخته

Major Raverty says that "the printed text is correct, except that برسم is altered to برشم, but ريشم, not رشم, is *silk*." It is unpleasant to give a flat contradiction, but I am forced to say that the print has ريشم, not رشم. He then gives the translation from Elliot (p. 311) thus italicised: "'The only *weapons* of the enemy were *bamboo spears*, and their *armour*, *shields* and *helmets* consisted only of *raw silk* strongly fastened and sewed together.' A 'shield' and 'helmet' of *raw silk* would be curiosities certainly." (Not greater perhaps than the cotton-armour described by the author in p. 352 of Raverty, and 287 of Elliot.) Major Raverty's rendering is, "The whole of the defensive arms of that host were of pieces of the spear-bambu, namely, their cuirasses and body armour, shields and helmets, which were all slips of it, crudely fastened and stitched, overlapping (each other)." This is a paraphrase rather than a translation. Major Raverty is a soldier, still I must assert that *silâh* means offensive not "defensive arms," and is rightly translated "weapons." The other part of the passage is open to doubt. *Kita' kita'*, "*bits and bits*," but of what? Formerly I took it to mean bits or hanks of silk, now I believe that the words refer to the bamboo mentioned in the previous sentence, and that the whole should read: "The only weapons of the enemy were bamboo spears, and so their armour and shields and helmets consisted entirely of pieces (of bamboo) strongly bound and sewn together with raw silk." Major Raverty quotes a letter written by an officer in the Dufflah expedition in December, 1874, which says, "Each man ... fastens on his cane-work helmet, a sort of close fitting skull cap. ... Round his loins over the hips he wears a number of thin bamboo or cane rings unattached to one another." This seems to make the matter clear.

XXVI.—Page 572. Here Major Raverty gives a local name as Náran-goe (or Náran-koe), and adds this note: "In Elliot, Vol. II, page 314, it is turned into 'Kúní' in one place, and sixteen lines under into 'Nárkotí'." This should have been stated thus: "The translation in Elliot scrupulously follows the text in reading 'Kúní,' and lower down 'Nárkotí.'" Against the correctness of Náran-goe it would be presumptuous to say anything without seeing the MSS., but Major Raverty from his own showing is not very certain.

XXVII.—Page 574. Major Raverty's rendering is more accurate, and has been placed among the Corrections.

XXVIII.—Page 581. In Elliot (p. 317) there is the following passage. "He had with him some travellers' bread, which he took from a bag on the back of the mule." Major Raverty gives a paraphrase, not a translation, of the passage, and says: "He had along with him on the ass, a few cakes of bread, with some (little) dainty, by way of provision for the journey, after the manner of travellers." To the word "dainty" he adds a note: "Meat, fish, vegetables or the like, eaten with bread to give it a savour. In Elliot it is styled '*travellers' bread*,' and the ass is turned into a mule!" The rendering in Elliot is literal. The words for the food are *Nán-i khurish-i safriyána*, literally "bread for travelling food." In the next line it is called *sufrah*, which the dictionaries explain as "travelling provisions." What ground is there here for animadversion, and why are these few simple words amplified into "a few cakes of bread with some (little) dainty by way of provision for the journey after the manner of travellers"? The word for Major Raverty's "ass" and Elliot's "mule" is *daráz-gosh*, "long-ear," an epithet, not a name. I find that the *munshi* who made the translation first wrote "ass," and afterwards changed it to "mule." He may be credited with a reason for doing so.

XXIX.—Page 583. Upon the last line but one in page 317 of Elliot, Major Raverty quotes and says, "'*built a fort for his residence!*' The printed text has 'fortress of Baskot.'" True, but it would have been candid to say that a note gives *ba-sukúnat*, which means "for the residence." Major Raverty adopts "Baskot" or "Basankot," and his MSS. may justify the reading, but he does not venture upon any explanation of its position.

XXX.—Page 583. In Elliot (p. 318) there are the words "he came with a body of men from his native country." Major Raverty quotes the text, allows that the word *jamá'* means "collection," and that *itbá'* means "followers," "dependents," and yet expresses his astonishment (!!) at the rendering "body of men." He finds reason apparently in his MSS. for altering the word *itbá'* into *intiyá'*, and translating "to better his means." This may be right, but it is not so decidedly preferable as to merit adoption. When Major Raverty says

in support of his view that the individual in question "was merely a priest, and did not travel attended by 'a body of men,'" he forgets that priests and holy men often have many followers and disciples "A number of followers" is a preferable rendering

XXXI —Page 583 I cannot admit Major Raverty's improved rendering of the words در بارگاه تذکری گفته آمد by "He was called upon to deliver a discourse in the audience hall," but I am not satisfied with the *munshi's* rendering in Elliot (p 318), "His name was mentioned in the Court" It says rather, "Having recited a commemorative (speech or ode), he came to Court" Or perhaps we may express the author's meaning more clearly by saying, "He came to Court and delivered a eulogistic speech"

XXXII —Page 587 Here Major Raverty says there is nothing to warrant the translation of *Atráf i mamalik i Lakhnauti* (the words of the printed text) by "the territories of Lakhnautí" How came he then, in page 354, to translate *atráf i bilad Lakhnauti* (text, p 138) by "the different parts of the territories of Lakhnautí"?

XXXIII —Page 600 This, the last criticism upon Elliot (p 320) which I have to review, is a gem of its kind "The word *bázargán* does not mean 'horse-dealer' any more than *ass-dealer*, for it signifies a merchant or trader" True, beyond question But this particular merchant was at the head of a drove (*galah*) of horses If, as it appears, he was one of a party of merchants who sold horses, what was he, if not a horse-dealer?

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

[*Attention is called also to a short list in each Volume*]

VOLUME I

Page 67 *Baladi* is probably "the quality of ginger so called ('country ginger'), which is often mentioned in the mercantile handbook of Balducci Pegolotti (circa 1340) as well as by Nicolo Conti, and at a later date Barbosa "—*Yule*, in Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, vol iv new series

„ 67 *Badru*—"A conjectural reading In a previous passage (p 66) the word appears in the form of Bawarui Bábákúri is a Turkish word for a chalcedony or agate, and may possibly be identical with *Bawarui*, which in that case would represent the chalcedonies and agates which have so long been a product of Cambay'—*Yule*

„ 69 *Jamalu-d din*—'The two Jamálu-d dins mentioned are to be distinguished The one here called Shaikh Jamálu-d dín is called by Wassáf Jamálu-d dín 'Abdu-r Rahman Ut Thaibi, 'the Great Farmer General and Lord of the Marches of India,' and we see here that he became more or less of a ruling Prince in the Peninsula a good many years before the time when standard historians recognize any Muhammadan rule in those parts He is, perhaps, the *Chamalating* whom Pauthier's Chinese extracts show to have gone on a mission from Ma'bar to the court of Kublai Khan in or previous to 1281, and the *Silamuting*, whom they show as ruler of Ma'bar in 1314, was, perhaps, his grandson Nizámu-d dín, of whom Wassáf speaks (see *Pauthier*, pp 601, 604, and *Hammer's* History of the Ilkhans, ii 206) The other, Jamálu-d dín Ibráhim, bore the title of Maliku-l Islám, and was Farmer General of Fárs in the time of Arghún Khán and his successors, with great authority in the Persian Gulf. His contract with Fakru-d dín, the brother of the Indian Jamálu-d dín, is also mentioned by Wassáf, who was himself secretary to the Persian official, and conducted his correspondence with India "—*Yule*

„ 69 *Sundar Bandi*—Marco Polo's statements are in striking conformity "When that traveller was in Ma'bar, he found it under the rule of five brothers, of whom one, called Sonder-Bendi Devar, ruled that province which was near Ceylon, which held supremacy over the pearl fishery, which was the best and noblest province of Southern India, and which was called *Soli* [*Chola* or *Sola*], indications which point to Tanjore and Ramnad, whilst another brother, called Asciar (*Ishuar*?) ruled at Kail

In Ramusio's version of Polo the conformity is even closer, for that version, like Rashídu-d dín's account, makes the brother princes not *five*, but four in number. Polo, too, speaks of the horse trade in almost the same terms as the text, though he puts the prices that horses then reached still higher, viz. '500 *saggi* of gold, worth more than 100 marks of silver.'" —*Yule.*

Page 72. *Ghurs.*—"Read *Ighurs*. In another place Rashíd says the members of the Kaan's cabinet were *Tajiks, Cathayans, Ighurs*, and *Arkaun* (Nestorian Christians)."—*Yule.*

" 72. *Zardandan.*—"The old friends described precisely under that name by Polo; their head-quarters were at Yunchang, on the Chinese frontier of Burma."—*Yule.*

" 79. "*Shak*, the Kaan's officer. Read *Sing* or *Shing*, as the Sank of the note suggests. *Shing*, i.e. a great city, in which the high and mighty council holds its meetings. 'As the Kaan generally resides at the capital, he has erected a palace for the sittings of the Great Council called *Sing*. Sing do not exist in all the cities, but only in the capitals of great provinces, which, in fact, form kingdoms, ranking with Baghdad, Shiraz, Iconium and Rum. In the whole empire of the Kaan there are twelve of these *Sing*.' (Rashídu-d dín, an extract by Klaproth, *Journ. As.* ser. ii. tome xi.)"—*Yule.*

VOLUME II.

" 26, line 2. For "setting" *read* "shooting" stars.

" 197, line 8. For "twenty two" *read* "two hundred."

" 249. To "*Kandahat*," add note: See Vol. I. p. 249.

" 266. See Note No. 1, page xi, *supra*.

" 269. To the word *India*, add a note: Some MSS. read "Wahind" instead of "ba-Hind," and "Waihind" no doubt is correct. See *supra* page xiii, Note III.

" 271, line 5. For "Mas'ud ordered him," etc., *read* "Mas'úd gave orders so that they took him prisoner and plundered his army."

" 271, line 7. For "When Mas'ud was killed," *read* "When Mas'úd was unfortunate, (i.e. when he was defeated)." See *supra* page xiv, Note IV.

" 271. Paragraph 2, line 8. For "even an elephant could not stand before him," *read* "his arrow stuck in any iron target." The doubtful words in the text were *bel i ahani*, literally "an iron shovel," and the dictionaries afford no further information. So *bel* was taken as a misprint for *pil*, and supposed to mean "an iron-like elephant." Major Raverty says that *bel* signifies "a plate of iron placed on a post used for tilting at, and as a butt for arrows." This gives an intelligible sense to the passage.

" 274. No. VII. line 3. To the words "and used to listen," add a note: This would perhaps be more correctly rendered by, "He knew many famous stories which he used to tell." See *supra* page xiv, Note VI.

" 276. Note 2, for "words mean," *read* "word means."

" 278. No. XI. line 10, for "He restored to the princes," *read* "He confirmed, etc."—*Raverty.*

" 281. To "Rásiát mountains" add the note: See Vol. VIII. page xvi, Note XIV.

" 285, line 2. For "Faj Hanisar," *read* "Faj Khaesár," and add a note: Major Raverty's MSS. give the correct form "Khaesár." The word *faj* means

"a broadway especially between two mountains" See *supra* page xvii, Note XV

Page 287, line 19 For "throwing off their coats of mail," *read* "throwing back the skirts of their coats of mail" (so as to have their legs free) See *supra* page xvii, Note XVI

" 291 To the note on Sang-i Surkh, add Major Raverty says "A pass on the Halmand river about N N W of Ghazni on the route from that city, and also from Kábul into Ghor"

" 302, line 4 from bottom To the word "Hindústán," add a note Major Raverty states that his MSS read "Sindústán," which he considers to be a form of the name "Siwistán" See *supra* page xvii, Note XVIII

" 303, paragraph 2, line 4 For "Nandua-tari,' *read* "Nandana, Tari" See *supra*, page xviii, Note XIX

" 303, near the end of paragraph 2 To the word *Khwarizm*, add a note See Vol VIII page xviii, Note XX

" 304, line 2 For "consigned to the care of the author On the provocation of the army," *read* "consigned to the care of the author, together with the office of *kazi* of the army,' and put a full stop after Bahram Sháh A new reading of the text requires this alteration See *supra* page xviii, Note XXI

" 309, paragraph 2 For "caused his name," etc, *read* "caused the *khutba* and the coins to be established in all the territories"—*Thomas, Chronicles of the Pathan Kings*, p 111

" 310 In the last line after the word "he," *insert* "(the author)"

" 311, line 15 For "consisted only of raw silk,' *substitute* "consisted entirely of pieces (of bamboo) strongly bound and sewn together with raw silk" See *supra* page xviii, Note XXV

" 314 To the names "Kuni' and "Narkoti" add note See Vol VIII page xix, Note XXVI

" 314, No 6, line 7 For "came dutifully to Deokot," *read* 'came to Deokot and discharged the duties of mourning' See *supra* page xx, Note XXVII

" 317, last line but one "A fort for his residence," add note Major Raverty's MSS give "the fort of Basankot" instead of the words "*ba-sukunat*" of the printed text See *supra* page xx, Note XXIX

" 318, line 11 See Note XXX *supra* page xx

" 318, middle of page To "his name was mentioned in the Court," add note The author's meaning may perhaps be better rendered by "He came to Court and delivered a eulogistic speech (*tazkire*)" See *supra* page xxi, Note XXXI

" 344 "Infidels of Changiz Khan" Adopt the variant reading in the text, "Infidels of Jájnagar"

" 358, end of paragraph 3 For "Sálin-nawin" *read* "Salin Núyin (Mughal)"

" 362 To Note 1 add See Thornton, vol iii "Mewassee," Journ As Soc Beng 1874, page 240, and *infra*, Vol III p 138

" 375, last line For "Tilibhat (Pilibhit)," *read* "Talpat"

" 393, to Note 2, add, "Properly Chol or Chol-jarad See *infra*, Vol III p 409, Vol IV p 94"

" 398, line 7 Put the semicolon after Darbela, and the comma after Jaisi

" 465 For "*Kanzu-l Mahpur*," read "*Kanzu-l Mahfuz*"

" 509, in Note 1 For "*Zauzan*" read "*Zauzan*."

VOLUME III

Page 104, last line, *read*, "In this campaign Yak-lakhi, the private servant of the Sultán, was slain by the Míwáttís" Yak-lakhí was a name like Hazár-dínárí See J A S B 1874, vol i p 287 The passage of Firishta referred to in the note is in Vol I p 256

„ 258, 261 "Hasan Kángu" The name is so written here and in other places, but the better known form is "Gángu"

„ 260, 8 lines from bottom To the name "Karra," add note "Karí or Kaira"

„ 265 For "1350 A D" *read* "1351"

„ 287 To Twelfth Mukaddama add note "Ascended the throne Safar, 745 A H (June, 1344 A D)"—*Tarikh-i Mubarak-Shahi*

„ 369 "*Ashrafu-l Mamalik*," read "*Ishrafu-l Mamalik*"

„ 400 For "1408" read "1398 A D"

„ 401 To the note add "See p 481 *infra*"

„ 414 To the word "*Siyawals*," add as a note "Yasáwals"

„ 421, 8 lines from bottom For "Passing by Rudaulh," *read* "not passing over the river," and add note See *infra*, page 468

„ 477 For "Salandoz," *read* "Sildoz"

„ 481 To the note add reference "See p 401"

„ [illegible], line 8 To the word "silent," add note See p 224, *supra*

„ 621, note "*Shutur-garbah*"—Some light may perhaps be thrown on this passage by referring to the story in which, in consequence of a vow, a camel was offered for sale at two rupees, but not without the cat on its neck at the price of 250 This is referred to in the Bagh o Bahár, in the Story of the First Darwesh, "The two are to be sold together, not the garden alone, like the cat on the camel's neck" As in corrupt boroughs in England a worthless article often brought a high price when a vote went with it, or as, in the high political excitement of former days, straws were offered for sale in the streets and seditious broadsides were given away with them

VOLUME IV

„ 9 "*Sar-burdah-dar*," read "*Sar-pardah dar*"

„ 22, line 2 "Mun," *read* "Main," and for the note "Mína?" *substitute* "Main or Munj is a name of a subdivision of Ranghar Rájpúts inhabiting Sirhind and the Bahat Doáb"—Blochmann's *Ain-i Akbari*, p 526

„ 54, 11 lines from bottom For "Main," *read* "Main"

„ 63, end of paragraph 2 Insert "the" before "Mawás"

„ 144 Add to Note 1 "Briggs Firishta, vol ii p 81"

„ 233 Add to Note 1 "The correct name is Siyurghtamish"—*Blochmann*

„ 261 To "Maidáni Ráo" add a note Properly "Medini Rao"

„ 289 Add to the Memoir of Shaikh Zain the note given as an Addendum in Vol V, also the reference See Proceedings of As Soc of Bengal, 1873, p 156

„ 307 To Fath Khán Hirawi, add a note "See Proceedings of As Soc Bengal for December, 1873"

„ 321, middle For "Kutb Sháh, King of Bengal," *read* "Kutb Sháh (or Khán), officer of the King of Bengal," and add note See *infra*, p 333

Page 365, line 3 For "Muyid Beg," *read* "Muayyad Beg"

" 385, last line, "Maulána Muhammad Binor" Add note "Probably Banúrí, from the town of Banúr (vide *suprà*, p 249), north of Ambála, a place famous for its saints and learned men"

" 507, paragraph 2 "Patna," add note More probably Panna

" 540, paragraph 2 For "Saklain," *read* "Siklain," and for "Husn," *read* "Hisn"

" 551. "*Lafganddrs*," add note This probably means *tufangdars*, even if it is not a mistranscription of that word

VOLUME V

" 41, paragraph 2 For "Kanwars," *read* "Gawárs" or "Gowars," and add note See *infrà*, p 193, and Journ As Soc Beng for 1874, Index

" 36, in note 5 For "*audhai*," read *andhali*

" 45, four lines from end "Kanjúrs" This should no doubt be read "Ganjúrs," *i e* treasurers

" 152, middle "Ammi Kulsúm," *read* "Umm Kulsúm"

" 167, last line For "Sháh" read "Sah"

" 173, line 7 from bottom For "the mine," *read* "the other mine"

" 189, line 2, paragraph 3 For "Bahakri," *read* "Bákri"

" 199, line 6 "Chinese house Add note "One built of enamelled tiles"

" 246 To note at foot of table add "The 14th year began on the 24th Ramazan The 15th on the 3rd Shawwal For date of Akbar's death, see Blochmann's *Áín-i Akbari*, vol i p 212"

" 246 Note 1 For *Khalifa Ilahi*, read "*Khalifatu-llah*"

" 259, end of paragraph 2 "*Ghazals* in mystic language," read "*Ghazals* of Háfiz, who is called *Lisanu-l ghaib* See Vol IV p 510"

" 265, note 2 For "reputed" *read* "adopted"

" 273, note 3 For "Sanjari," *read* "Sijizi" Sístán, or Sijistán, makes its adjective Sijizí, and although the text has Sanjari, there is no doubt Sijizi is the right word

" 278, paragraph 2 For "Khari, Januba, Bhukiyál, and Ját," *read* "Khattri (or Khattar), Janúha, Bhugiyál, and Chibh" See Blochmann's *Áín*, pp 456, 487

" 280, line 2 from end. For "Kulchin," *read* "Kúchin"

" 300, paragraph 2 For "Fath Khan Tibati," *read* "Fath Khán Battani"

" 323, paragraph 3, line 8 For "Ali Kuli," *read* "Muhammad Kuli"

" 330, paragraph 1 "Kháng-sawár," *properly* "Khing-suwár"

" 384, paragraph 1 For "Kisú," *read* "Gesú"

" 395, middle To "Safar" make a note "The *Akbar-nama* says Rajab, which must be right"

" 407 For "Tánsaní," *read* "Tausaní," and erase the note

" 427, paragraph 3, line 1 "Jalesar," *read* "Jalair"

" 430 In note "Tannú" According to Mr Blochmann he was called "Nathu," which means "dwarf"—*Áín-i Akbari*, vol i p 38

" 463, line 1 "Husain," *read* "Hasan"

" 478 Add note "For date of Badáuní's death (1004), see Journ As Soc. Beng for 1869, p 143"

" 571, line 4 For "Shabri," *read* "Sherí"

VOLUME VI

Page 150 Add note "Asad Beg died in the third year of the reign of Jahángír and left 15 *lacs* of rupees behind him "—*Kamgár Khan*

„ 368, line 2 of note "Srihote," *read* "Srikote"

„ 423, lines 5 and 7 "Mubárak Khán," *read* "Mukarrab Khán"

„ 433, end of second paragraph "Tirbang," *read* "Trimbak"

„ 509, paragraph 3, line 1 "deserted," *read* "defeated"

VOLUME VII

„ 71 In note For "478," *read* "578"

„ 263, paragraph 2 For "Kunwar Rám," *read* "Kunwar Rám"

„ 305, 306 For "Khán Zaman," *read* "Khán Zamán Khán"

„ 392, line 6 After "Mu'izzu-d din," *insert* "(Jahándár Sháh)"

„ 463-4 "Muhakkim Singh," *read* "Muhkam Singh"

VOLUME VIII

„ 170, line 4 from bottom For "Bháo Wiswás Raí, with," *read* "Bháo with Wiswás Ráo"

„ 115, last paragraph To the word Nawab add note, "The eunuch Jáwed Khan, see post pp 120, 133"

CONTENTS OF VOL. VIII.

HISTORIANS OF INDIA.

LXXXIV.

MUKHTASIRU-T TAWÁRÍKH

The author has nowhere given a distinct title to his work, though he says it is a *mukhtasir*, or abridgment, of the accounts of ancient Sultáns.

Neither the name of the author nor the date of the composition is given, but as, amongst the general authorities which he mentions in his Preface, the latest is the *Ikbal-nama Jahángíri* of Mu'tamad Khán, we may fairly assume that the work was written early during the reign of Sháh Jahán.

The author tells us that next to the knowledge of God and His Will the most important information to acquire is that derived from history, and that acquaintance with the circumstances of former kings, and their nobles and counsellors, is equal to the cup of Jamshíd and the mirror of Alexander, that it also leads to reflections upon the instability of kings and kingdoms, which are always treading the road of annihilation for when exalted autocrats, with their powerful families, their experienced ministers, their countless armies, and exhaustless treasuries, with all their pomp, splendour and dominion, are swept from off the earth, and no vestige of them remains, what doom can inferior creatures expect?

After these moral reflections, he proceeds to inform us, that though he was endowed with a very small capacity, yet as he

associated much with the great, and with the chief officers of the government, and had heard many historical anecdotes during his intercourse with them, he thought it expedient to combine this information with that which he had derived from authentic histories, and compose a work calculated to yield gratification to those who should peruse it The histories he quotes are the *Táríkh-i Mahmud Ghaznavi, Taríkh-i Sultan Shahabu-d din Ghori, Taríkh-i Sultán 'Alau-d dín Khilji, Taríkh-i Sultán Muhammad Sháh, Táríkh-i Sultan Ghiyasu-d din Tughlik Sháh, Taríkh-i Sultan Firoz Sháh, Táríkh-i Afaghana, Zafar-náma Tímúri, Akbar-náma* of Abú-l Fazl, *Tabakát-i Akbari, Ikbal-nama Jahángiri*, and *Rajávali*

He devotes his work chiefly to the Sovereigns of Dehlí, but he also adds a short account of the Kings of Gujarát, Málwa, the Dakhin, Bengal, Jaunpúr, Kashmír, Sind, and Multán, all which provinces, after undergoing various vicissitudes, came to be included within the Empire of Jalálu-d dín Muhammad Akbar

The copy which I have examined is unfortunately imperfect It contains none of these minor histories, and does not carry down the Dehlí history later than 962 A H, just before the accession of Akbar, but this is of very little consequence, for the *Mukhtasiru-t Tawáríkh* has been followed verbatim by the better-known *Khulasatu-t Tawaríkh*, which exhibits one of the most impudent plagiarisms that even India can produce, for the *Khulasat* mentions every conceivable authority in existence, but carefully excludes this one, from which, up to a certain period, it not only derived its chief information, but its very language, even in many instances to the transcription of the poetical quotations

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Ghorians, Khiljís, Saiyids, and Afgháns, pp. 111 to 238—Bábar, pp 238 to 253—Humáyún, pp. 253 to 290

SIZE—8vo The imperfect volume consists of 352 pages of 15 lines to each page.

The following extract is among the passages copied by the *Khulásatu-t Tawáríkh,* and shows a ridiculous tendency to exaggeration [The translation was made by a *munshi,* and was revised by Sir H M Elliot]

The only copy I have seen of the *Mukhtasiru-t Tawáríkh* is in one of the Royal Libraries at Lucknow

EXTRACT

A Description of Hindustan

India is a very large country, and it is so extensive that other countries are not equal to a hundredth part of it Notwithstanding its extensive area, it is populated in all places It abounds in all quarters and every district with cities, towns, villages, caravanserais, forts, citadels, mosques, temples, monasteries, cells, magnificent buildings, delightful gardens, fine trees, pleasant green fields, running streams, and impetuous rivers. On all the public roads and streets strong bridges are made over every river and rill, and embankments also are raised Lofty minarets are made at the distance of each *kos* to indicate the road, and at every two *parasangs* inns are built of strong masonry for travellers to dwell in and take rest. At each inn can be obtained every kind of food and drink, all sorts of medicine, and all kinds of necessary instruments and utensils. On all roads shadowy and fruitful trees are planted on both sides Wells and tanks are dug which contain fresh and sweet water in abundance The passengers go along the roads under the shadow of the trees, amusing themselves, eating the fruits and drinking cold water, as if they were taking a walk among the beds of a garden The merchants, tradesmen and all travellers, without any fear of thieves and robbers, take their goods and loads safe to their dis-

tant destinations. The whole of this country is very fertile, and the productions of Írán, Túrán, and other climates are not equal to those of even one province of Hindústán. In this country there are also mines of diamonds, ruby, gold, silver, copper, lead, and iron The soil is generally good, and so productive that in a year it yields two crops, and in some places more All kinds of grain, the sustenance of human life, are brought forth in such quantities that it is beyond the power of pen to enumerate. Of these productions the *sukhdas* rice is the best. Its qualities and flavour are beyond all praise It is equally palatable to kings and the common people It is incomparable in tenderness and sweetness, and has a very agreeable smell and taste The rich and great men, and those who are fond of good living, think that no other food is so excellent Men of refined and delicate taste find great relish in eating the fruits of Hindústán A separate book would have to be written if a full detail were given of all the different kinds of fruits which are produced in spring and autumn, describing all their sweetness, fragrance, and flavour

LXXXV

KHULÁSATU-T TAWÁRÍKH

OF

SUBHÁN RÁÍ.

This is a well-known general history of India. It was composed by Munshí Subhán Ráí Khattrí, an inhabitant of Pattiála Many copies fail to give the name of the author,[1] and the *Ma-ásiru-l Umará* quotes the work merely as being written by a Hindú, without giving his name, in a passage which has been wrongly translated, as being "written in Hindúí language "[2]

It was written in 1107 A H (1695-6 A.D.), and occupied, we are told by the author, two years in its composition This, however, may be doubted, for the work is chiefly a copy from the *Mukhtasiru-t Tawáríkh*, noticed above, although there is no acknowledgment of the extent to which the author is indebted to that anonymous work Notwithstanding which, he has the impudence to tell us in his Preface, that he has stolen nothing from any one, but composed the work himself—a declaration which, as he was under no necessity to make it, of itself excites suspicions of his honesty.

The author indulges in the same moral reflections, and assigns the same reasons for writing this history, as had already been given by the author of the *Mukhtasiru-t Tawáríkh*, and have been quoted in that article

[1] This is the case with the one in the *Mackenzie* Collection (vol ii p 121), where it is stated that the author "describes himself as the translator of the *Singhásan Battísí*, the *Padmávati*, and *Rájavali*,"—a statement not authorized by any copy I have seen

[2] *Oriental Quarterly Magazine*, vol iv p 269

The opening chapters, which are the best portion of the work, give a good account of the products of Hindústán, and its Geography, as known in the time of Aurangzeb He confines the history of the Ghaznivides to the transactions in India alone, and in consequence absurdly reduces the number of their reigns to seven In the reigns of the early Kings of Dehlí he does not enter into much more detail, yet, notwithstanding the briefness of the narrative, he occasionally indulges in poetical quotations and needless digressions, as where he describes the seasons of spring, summer, autumn, and winter in the Ghaznivide history, and gives us an account of the various games in the reign of Kai-Kubád, of fireworks, and of a famine, in the reign of Jalálu-d dín, and of wine and its effects, in the reigns of Shahábu-d dín and 'Aláu-d dín

His accounts of the reigns of the first four Mughal Emperors are copious, considering the nature of the work, but he has said very little of Sháh Jahán, excusing himself on the ground of Wáris Khán's having already written a copious history of that Emperor's reign His account of the contests between Aurangzeb and his brothers is very full, and he closes with the period when that Emperor has succeeded in getting rid of his rivals, and has no longer a competitor for the throne. Beyond this period he enters into no particulars, though he wrote in the fortieth year of the reign

He gives no separate history of the independent monarchies of India, such as of the Dakhin, Bengal, Gujarát, etc, but merely gives a brief account of each king's reign, when he comes to mention the final absorption of each province in the Mughal Empire Thus, the Kings of Multán are treated of in the reign of Bábar, the Kings of Málwá, Gujarát, Bengal, Kashmír, Sind, and the Dakhin in the reign of Akbar. The accounts of the Kings of Multán and Kashmír are given at greater length than the others

The work is better known to the public by the Urdú translation, called the *A'raish-i Mahfil*, of Mír Sher 'Alí Ja'farí, with

the poetical designation of Afsos, son of Saiyid 'Alí Muzaffar Khán, and one of Dr Gilchrist's chief coadjutors in the editing and correcting of his useful Hindústání publications, such as the *Bágh-i Urdú*, a translation of the *Gulistán*, *Kuliyát-i Sauda*, and *Nasr-i Be-nazir* The beginning of this translation was printed in Calcutta in a folio volume in 1808. Sher 'Alí Afsos represents that he has not made a literal translation, but added or rejected as he thought proper. He has made the greatest alterations in the accounts of the *súbas* and *sarkárs*, and the least in the accounts of forts, and none at all in the revenues of the provinces, as he has no means of bringing down the information to his own time [He has kept, he says, many passages relating to the miracles and marvels of *Sufis* merely for conformity with the original work; and for the same reason he has retained many marvellous statements about Hindú devotees and temples, although they are contrary to reason, and he is not the man to believe them] The beginning of this translation had already been made, when, at the instigation of Mr Harington, he was induced to continue the work from the time of the Muhammadan Emperors. The latter portion has never been printed, but is stated by M Garcin de Tassy to exist in manuscript in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta [1]

There is little to indicate that this work was written by a Hindú, except that the date of composition is recorded, not only in the Hijra and Julús years, but in the era of the Kali-yug, Bikramájít, and Sálivàhana [2]

The *Khulásatu-t Tawáríkh* professes to be founded on the best authorities, no less than twenty-seven being quoted by name, of which those which are the rarest are the *History of Mahmúd Subuktigin* by Maulánâ 'Unsurí, *History of Sultan Shahábu-d*

[1] *Histoire de la Littérature Hindoui et Hindoustani*, vol i p 31

[2] [It is written with the intolerance and virulence of a bigoted Musulmán, and carefully records many stories about Musulmán saints and their tombs So it would appear to have proceeded from the pen of a Musulmán rather than a Hindú But this, though a ground for presumption as to the authorship, is by no means conclusive]

dín Ghori, *History of Sultan 'Aláu-d dín Khilji*, *Tarikh-i Firoz-sháhi* by 'Izzu-d dín Khálidkhání,[1] the *History of the Afgháns* by Husain Khán, the *History of Akbar* by 'Atá Beg Kazwíni, and the *Tarikh-i Bahadur-shahi*, containing the history of Gujarát. Whether these works were really read and examined may be questioned, for there is nothing in this history which would seem to be derived from these unusual sources of information

Many verses, some said to be original, and some extracted from various authors, are inserted in different passages of the narrative, to which they were considered appropriate

[Colonel Lees, in his article upon Indian Historians in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (N S vol III), has bestowed very great praise upon the author of the *Khulasatu-t Tawarikh* He says, "It is one of the most carefully compiled general histories of India I know of The author commences with the Pándus, and brings his narrative down to the end of the year 1107 A H It was continued for some years later by another hand, and here I may mention, as an instance of how desirable it is to print the texts of all the valuable histories of India compiled in former times we can, that the author of the well-known *Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirin*, who wrote his history when Lord Hastings was Governor-General, has transferred almost the whole of this work to his pages verbatim, without ever once mentioning the author's name A more glaring instance of plagiarism it would be impossible to conceive, yet the author of the *Siyar* has a great reputation, especially among European writers, and the name of the modest Subhán Rái, the real historian, is probably wholly unknown To make matters worse, this dishonest copyist says, in the preface of his book, that he found a *few pages* of an old book, prepared by *some munshí* for one of the Muhammadan Emperors, which he made use of, but it was full of mistakes, which he corrected This is nothing else but a barefaced falsehood; for if there are mistakes in Subhán

[1] [This work and its author, whose name has not been found elsewhere, are not given in a MS belonging to the R Asiatic Society to which I have referred]

Rái's history, he has copied them all, and made very many of his own besides. Another dishonest writer translated the same history into Hindústání, and giving it a new name, the *A'ráish-i Mahfil*, passed it off as an original composition He was, however, more honest than the other, as, though he denies that his book is a translation, he acknowledges *some* obligation "

Col Lees and Sir H M Elliot are thus in direct antagonism, but if Sir Henry's judgment was correct, Subhán Rái was the great plagiarist, and he must be deprived of the praise which Col Lees has bestowed upon him The discovery of the *Mukhtasiru-t Tawaríkh* makes it possible also that the author of the *Siyar* was veracious, when he said that he used the book of an old *munshí* Still, his statement was disingenuous, for the *Khulásatu-t Tawáríkh* could hardly have been unknown to him, and it would have been more honest to have made some direct reference to that well-known work The censure cast by Col Lees on the author of the *A'raish-i Mahfil* is still less deserved, for Sher 'Alí, in his title-page, states that his book was "derived from the contents of the *Khulásatu-t Tawaríkh*" Like many other authors and translators, he has magnified his own labours, but the book is not a mere translation To say nothing of the elegance of the composition, there is a good deal of additional matter in it, and it contains accounts of things which happened long after the date of the *Khulásat*, such as the establishment of the British Government, and the building of Calcutta.][1]

CONTENTS.

Preface, p. 1—Hindústán, its products and men, p 12—Descriptive Geography of the *súbas*, p. 28—Hindú Rájas, p. 94—The Ghaznivides, p 172—Muhammadan Kings of Dehlí,

[1] ["Quoique cet ouvrage ait pour base un livre Persan intitulé *Khulasatu-t Tawáríkh*, qui est dû au munshi Subhán Rái de Patala, on peut le considerer neanmoins comme originale soit à cause de la quantité de faits qu'Afsos a puise ailleurs, soit parceque souvent loin de repeter les assertions hasardees de l'auteur Persan il en a rectifié les erreurs."—Garcin de Tassy, *Histoire de la Littérature Hindoui et Hindoustani* "]

p 196—Reign of Bábar, p 294—Reign of Humáyún, p 310—Reign of Akbar, p 347—Reign of Jahángír, p 441—Reign of Sháh Jahán, p 479—Reign of Aurangzeb, p 487

Size—Quarto, containing 534 pages of 19 lines each

The *Khulásatu-t Tawaríkh* is one of the commonest works in India, and is not rare in Europe There are several copies in the British Museum The Asiatic Society of Bengal has a very good copy, with a few leaves deficient at the end, and there are two copies in the Royal Asiatic Society's Library

Several copies, even from such widely distant places as London, Calcutta, Dehlí, Patna, and Sahéranpur, all conclude with stating the date of Aurangzeb's death, which, as the work was composed in the fortieth year of his reign, must have been added by some transcriber in a very early copy, for though it is not improbable that any transcriber should add the date of the Emperor's death, yet, unless the original entry had been very early, so many copies could not have concurred in giving it in the same form and words

[The Editor has translated the account of Dehlí, but has not thought it necessary to give extracts from the historical part of the work.]

EXTRACT

The Metropolitan Province of Sháh-Jahán-abad

[In Hindú and Persian histories I have read that in ancient times the city of Hastinápúr was the capital of the rulers of Hindústán This city stood upon the bank of the Ganges, and a great deal has been written about the (great) extent and size of this city in that age It is very populous at the present time, but nothing like what it was in those old days When dissensions broke out between the two royal races the Kauravas and Pándavas, the latter removed from Hastinápúr to the city of Indarprast on the Jumna, and made it their capital A long while afterwards, in the year 440 of Bikramájít, Rája Anang Pál

Tonaur[1] built the city of Dehlí near to Indarprast. Afterwards Rái Pithaurá, in the year twelve hundred and something of Bikramájít, built a fort and city to which he gave his own name.

Sultán Kutbu-d dín Aibak and Sultán Shamsu-d dín Altamsh occupied the fort of Rái Pithaurá. In the year 666 Hijra (1267-8 A.D.) Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín Balban built another fortress, which he called Shahr-zaghan.[2] In the year 686 Hijra (1287 A.D.) Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín Kai-Kubád built another city of handsome edifices on the Jumna, to which he gave the name of Kílú-garí. Amír Khusrú extols this city in his *Kiránu-s Sa'adain*. Sultán Jalálu-d dín Khiljí founded the city Kúshk-l'al (red palace), and Sultán 'Aláu-d dín the city of Kúshk-Sirí and made them their respective capitals. Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín Tughlik Sháh, in the year 725 Hijra (1325 A.D.), raised the city of Tughlikábád. His son, Sultán Muhammad Fakhru-d dín Jauná, founded another city, and erected in it a palace of 1000 pillars. He also built some other fine mansions of red stone (*rukham*). In the year 755 Hijra (1354 A.D.) Sultán Fíroz Sháh built the large city of Fíroz-ábád, and having cut the river Jumna, he conducted the water to his city. Three *kos* distant from the city he raised another palace, containing in it a lofty pillar, which still remains standing on a little hill, and is commonly called the *lath* of Fíroz Sháh. Sultán Mubárak Sháh founded the city of Mubárak-ábád. In the year 943 Hijra (1536 A.D.) Nasíru-d dín Muhammad Humáyún Bádsháh, having restored and repaired the fort of Indarprast, gave it the name of Dín-panáh, and made it his royal residence. Sher Sháh Afghán, having pulled down the city known as Kúshk-Sirí, built another one. Salím Sháh, his son, in the year 953 Hijra (1546 A.D.) built the fort of Salím-garh, which still stands in the river Jumna, opposite the citadel of Sháh-Jahán-ábád. Although each of the rulers of Hindústán founded a city, and made it the seat of his government, still in all parts of the dominions Dehlí is famous as the capital of all the rulers of Hindústán. In the year 1048 A.H. (1638 A.D.), and in the twelfth

[1] [Tomár.]

[2] [The *Arásh-i Mahfil* calls it "Marzaghan."]

year of his reign, Shahábu-d dín Muhammad Sháh Jahán Bádsháh-i Ghází Sáhib-Kirán-i sání built a city near Dehlí, which he named Sháh-Jahán-ábád Through the building of this great city, all the cities which have been mentioned as having been built by former kings have been eclipsed, and are included under the general name of Shah-Jahán-ábád, just as the many rivers which fall into the Ganges are known only by the name of Ganges.]

LXXXVI

HAFT GULSHAN-I MUHAMMAD-SHÁHÍ

OF

MUHAMMAD HÁDÍ KÁMWAR KHÁN

MUHAMMAD HÁDÍ KAMWAR KHÁN is the author of this general history, which was written in A H. 1132 (A D 1719-20), in the second year of Muhammad Sháh's reign, after whom he names the work, though he dedicates no portion of it to an account of that Emperor

In a very wordy Preface, the author informs us, that, from an early period of his life, he took a delight in reading the history of kings and saints, and that, in consequence of his entering the service of the Emperor Aurangzeb, "the destroyer of all signs of superstition and idolatry," and being employed in the Dakhin, he was for a long time precluded from pursuing his favourite occupation. He subsequently appears to have been reduced to great distress, "from the occurrence of certain miserable accidents, and he conceived a disgust for all the world and everything in it, insomuch that no taste for any kind of occupation remained in his mind"

In these afflicting circumstances 'Ináyatu-llah Khán, "the best of ministers," came forward to assist him, and he accompanied that officer on his return to the capital While residing there, he seems to have been contented with his lot, for he tells us, with some exultation, that he considered the corner of a house, and an old mat to sit on, better than the lofty palaces of the lords of splendour and magnificence, and that he pursued his old studies with avidity He preferred wandering among the pleasant leaves

of a book to a walk among the parterres of a flower-garden, he altogether abandoned the fruitless attendance upon the gates of the proud and arrogant, and shook sorrow and discontent from the skirts of his heart

While he was so happily occupied in the revival of his former pursuits, he met with a severe affliction in the loss of his dearest friend, who is spoken of in such terms that we are led to conclude his bereavement to have been that of his wife, whose name the usual Oriental delicacy respecting females prevented his revealing for the information of his readers "The fire of grief burnt up the harvest of his hopes, destroying the stock of his patience, and nothing remained to him but sighs and tears"

From this stupor of grief he was aroused by no human aid On this occasion an invisible angel and a divine inspiration told him not to sorrow as one without hope, but to occupy his mind by composing some work, which might serve to hand down his name to posterity In compliance with this philosophical advice, so secretly conveyed to him, he addressed himself to his task, and the result is before us, which he trusts will render the perusal of any other history devoted to the same period unnecessary

The *Haft Gulshan-i Muhammad-shahi* is scarcely worthy of the important preliminaries which heralded its birth But the author did not confine himself to this general history, he wrote four years afterwards a much more important work, called the *Tazkira-i Chaghatai*, which is the subject of the next article, and he is the same Muhammad Hádi who wrote the Introduction and Conclusion of the *Autobiographical Memoirs of Jahangír* (No LVI)

The present work may be considered an abridgment of Firishta It comprises a general history of India, including all the minor dynasties, but the Kings of Dehlí are not carried down later than Bábar, and at the conclusion of the account of that conqueror, we are promised a completion of the history of the Timurian family in a second volume, which promise has been fulfilled in the *Tazkira-i Chaghatai*

This history is divided into Books and Chapters, principally styled Rose-gardens (*Gulshan*) and Rose-bushes (*Gulban*), and as it contains seven Books, it is entitled *Haft Gulshan*

CONTENTS

A short extract is given as a specimen

SIZE—8vo, comprising 495 pages of 11 lines each

This history is not common in India I only know two copies, of which the best is in the possession of the Rája of Tirna, in Central Doáb

EXTRACT

The Bahmaní Sultáns

The narrators of ancient history, after much investigation, have related with great exactness and precision that there was a person by name Hasan, who lived in a state of extreme indigence, and was a servant of one Gángú, a Brahmin, who held some rank and honour in the Court of Sultán Muhammad Tughlik, King of Dehlí This astrologer possessed a small piece of land, which the King had granted to him for his

maintenance, and he employed Hasan to till it. One day, as Hasan was driving the plough, he saw a hole in the ground, and on examining it, he discovered there a jar full of gold *mohurs*. He covered it with earth in the same manner as he found it, and informed Gángú of it. Gángú took Hasan to the King, and represented the matter to him. The Sultán praised Hasan for his honesty, admitted him among the commanders of a hundred,[1] and took him into his favour. Gradually his rank increased to such a degree, that he was appointed, above all the Mughal mercenaries, Governor of Kulbarga[2] and its vicinity. Gángú the astrologer, his old master, on examining his horoscope, found signs of his becoming a King, and received a promise from him that, in the days of his sovereignty, he would assume the name of Gángú as part of his royal title.

Sultán Muhammad Tughlik, being a very cruel prince, put the *amírs* of Sind, Dakhin, and Gujarát to death. But the Almighty God saved Hasan from destruction. The Sultán having invested him with the title of Zafar Khán, and conferred on him Bhakkar, which was one of the dependencies of Bhakhrí, in *jágír*, went to Gujarát, and thence turned his course towards Thatta, where the army of death attacked him, and sent him to the world of nonentity.

[1] Briggs reads the passages where these words occur as "*Amír Jadída*," "the new officers," a term given to the newly-converted Mughals, and he has a note upon them in volume i. p. 429. But the original of that passage, and of all others where the words occur, give "*Amíran-i Sada*," which would imply that they were "Commanders of a hundred men." [See *supra*, Vol. III. p. 252, note.] Núru-l Hakk styles Hasan a Turk Sipáhí, so that he must have been enrolled among the foreign mercenaries. Firishta calls him an Afghán.

[2] This city received the name of Hasanábád. Col. Briggs says that this name, which was given to Kulbarga by Hasan, is most inconsistently written in all the MSS. of Firishta as Ahsanábád; but it is not so in the lithographed copy, nor do the verses, which record its foundation, admit of any other reading than Hasanábád. [Ifádat Khan calls it Ahsanábád.—See Scott's Dakhin, vol. ii. p. 2, and *supra*, Vol. VII. p. 634.]

LXXXVII

TAZKIRA-I CHAGHATÁÍ

or

MUHAMMAD HÁDÍ KÁMWAR KHÁN.

[THIS work is sometimes called *Táríkh-i Chaghatáí*, but it must not be confounded with the history bearing that title by Muhammad Shafí' Wárid (No LXXXVIII) The author of the *Tazkira* was Muhammad Hádí Kámwar Khán, who has been already noticed as the author of the *Tatimma-i Wakí'at-i Jahangíri* (No LVI),[1] and the *Haft Gulshan* (No LXXXVI.) The *Tazkira-i Chaghatai* is a general history of the Chaghatáí sovereigns in two parts. The first commences with an account of the origin of the Mongols, and of Changíz Khán, and goes down to the death of Jahángír. The second part, which is the more important and useful, begins with the death of Jahángír, and ends with the seventh year of Muhammad Sháh, A H 1137 (1724 A D).

In writing about this author, Colonel Lees says, "I do not know the exact limits of the period within which this author flourished, but it is evident that he was contemporary with Aurangzeb for a considerable portion of his reign, and, for some portion of the time, at least, had good opportunities of obtaining accurate information I find that in the forty-fifth year of his

[1] *Suprà*, Vol VI p 392

reign, he went, in company with the Paymaster General Kifáyat Khán bin Arshad Khán, Kháfí, to Ahmadábád; and as he has brought down his history only to the sixth year of Muhammad Sháh's reign, or A H. 1136,[1] and Kháfí Khán has continued his to the fourteenth year of the same reign, or 1144 A H, we may conclude that Kámwar Khán was not the later of the two He opens his history modestly stating that he commenced it after he had completed the compilation of the *Haft Gulshan* (No LXXXVI) He continues, 'I humbly crave the students of history, regardless of the impropriety of the words I have used, or the want of elegance in my style, to take into their consideration, and do me the justice to remember, that without any royal order, and without the aid or assistance of any of the nobles of the times, which in an undertaking of this important nature is very necessary, how many nights I have turned into days and *vice versá*, and what anxiety of mind I have suffered, in communicating the information contained in this history in a new form' The author was appointed Controller of the Household of Prince Muhammad Ibráhím, and received an increase of pay and the title of Kámwar Khán, in the second year of the reign of Bahádur Sháh Sháh 'Álam, and he received a *khil'at* from the Emperor in the following year He was in a position then to know what was going on, and the apparently straightforward manner in which he has written his history inspires the confidence of the reader"

From incidental observations in the pages of the book, it appears that the author was *díwán*, *bakhshí* and *khansaman*, in the time of Bahadur Sháh, and that he afterwards held the office of *darogha* of the treasury of the *ahadís*. In the later years of the work it is little more than a record of appointments and promotions, with the concomitant presents and offerings.[2]]

[1] [" So far the Bengal Asiatic Society's copy Mr Morley says the Royal Asiatic Society's copy is continued for another year "]

[2] [See Mr Morley's Catalogue, and Col Lees' Article, Journ R A S (New Series), vol iii p 156]

EXTRACTS

Accession of Sháh Jahán.

[Yamínu-d daula Ásaf Khán, 'Azam Khán and other nobles defeated the army of Shahriyár in the vicinity of Láhore They entered the city, made Shahriyár prisoner, and blinded him Bulákí and the other sons of Dániyál and Khusrú were put in chains, and imprisoned in the fort of Láhore]

Death of Bahádur Sháh

[Bahádur Sháh died on the night of the 20th Muharram, 1024 A H (9th Feb 1615) Great confusion immediately followed in the royal camp, and loud cries were heard on every side The *amirs* and officials left the royal tents in the darkness of the night, and went off to join the young princes Many persons of no party, and followers of the camp, unmindful of what fate had in store for them, were greatly alarmed, and went off to the city with their families Ruffians and vagabonds began to lay their hands upon the goods of many The streets were so crowded that it was difficult to pass along them, and houses could not be found to accommodate the people Several persons were to be seen seeking refuge in one little shop. Friends and relations were unable to answer the calls made upon them Great disturbances arose in the armies of the Princes, and none of the great men had any hope of saving their lives The soldiers loudly demanded their pay and allowances, and joining the unceremonious servants, they made use of foul and abusive language, and laid their hands on everything they found. Fathers could do nothing to help their sons, nor sons for their fathers Every man had enough to do in taking care of himself, and the scene was like the day of judgment Informers brought in news that Prince Muhammad Karím, son of Prince 'Azímu-sh Shán, had left his own camp and gone off towards that of Mahábat Khán and Khán-zamán, sons of the

late Khán-khánán, and no one knew what his intentions were Every one, small and great, looked upon 'Azímu-sh Shán as the successor; for he had soldiers, artillery, elephants, treasure, and implements of war two-fold more than all his three brothers Except *Amíru-l umará* Bakhshíu-l Mulk (Zú-l fikár Khán), all the royal nobles were in his favour It was probable that he would draw up his forces at once, and not give his adversaries time to assemble theirs]

LXXXVIII.

TÁRÍKH-I CHAGHATÁÍ

OF

MUHAMMAD SHAFÍ', TEHARÁNÍ

[THIS work is also found bearing the names *Mir-atu-l Waridat* and *Tarikh-i Muhammad-Shahi*. The author was Muhammad Shafí'-i Teharání, whose poetical soubriquet was Wárid. He tells his readers that he was born in Hindustán, but that his father, Muhammad Sharíf, and his ancestors, were natives of Teharán. Up to the age of forty-one he had done nothing to hand his name down to posterity, and while he was regretting his wasted life, and considering what work he should undertake, he was visited by his friend, Mirza 'Ináyatu-llah 'Atúfat Khán, at whose instance he composed this history. He goes on to say, "From the year 1100 A.H., the greater portion of what I have recorded I have myself seen, and that which I heard from trustworthy persons I took the utmost pains in sifting and inquiring into, and whatever statements I had the slightest doubt about I discarded. But from the commencement of the war of the late Sultán Muhammad A'zam up to the present time, or for twenty-two years, I have seen everything with my own eyes." The work is written in an elegant, but somewhat difficult style. It begins with the history of Bábar, and includes part of the reign of Muhammad Sháh down to the withdrawal of Nádir Sháh in 1739. He closes his work with the following statement:

"After the departure of Nádir Sháh, a Royal Order was issued to the following effect: 'All public officers should occupy

themselves in the discharge of their ordinary duties, except the historians These should refrain from recording the events of my reign, for at present the record cannot be a pleasant one. The reins of Imperial or Supreme Government have fallen from my hands I am now the viceroy of Nádir Sháh' Notwithstanding that the nobles and great officers of the Court, hearing these melancholy reflections of the Emperor, in many complimentary and flattering speeches recommended him to withdraw this order, His Majesty would not be satisfied Consequently, being helpless, all the historians obeyed the royal mandate, and laid down their pens."

The work is not a very long one The copy used by Colonel Lees was a royal octavo of 668 pages, 15 lines to the page There is a copy and several extracts of the work in the library of Sir H. M Elliot[1]]

EXTRACT

(Nádir Sháh), calling Burhanu-l Mulk before him, sent him to the presence of Muhammad Sháh, having determined upon this treaty, that the Emperor of Hindústán should come to have an interview with him, and that he should not be sparing of his money and goods He on his part would hold fast to the treaty, and the sovereignty and the whole kingdom, as formerly, should remain in the possession of his brother monarch

Burhánu-l Mulk was admitted to the presence for the purpose of delivering this message Next morning Nizámu-l Mulk went before the Sháh to arrange matters, and the Sháh came as far as the door of the tent to meet him.

The following day Muhammad Sháh proceeded there, riding in a light litter As he entered the tent, Nádir Sháh came respectfully forward, and they, taking one another's hands, sat down

[1] [This article has been chiefly derived from Col Lees' article in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (N S vol III), and his translations of the two Extracts above quoted have been adopted, but the passages had been picked out by Sir H M Elliot, and were translated for him by a *munshi*]

together upon the same *masnad*. The coffee-bearer first presented coffee to Nádir Sháh, and he with his own hands courteously presented it to Muhammad Sháh, and said, "Since you have done me the honour to come here, you are my brother, and may you remain happy in the empire of Hindústán"

After two hours, Muhammad Sháh returned to his own camp, and diffused comfort among the dejected chiefs of Hindústán It had been determined that both Kings should march together towards Sháh-Jahánábád So on Friday, the 8th of Zí-l hijja, in the year 1151 A H (8th March, 1739), the two Emperors reached Dehlí Nawáb Burhánu-l Mulk was present there at the time, but on the following morning he died On the night of the third day from that Friday, this extraordinary circumstance occurred, that some people of Hindústán raised a report that Muhammad Sháh had made away with Nádir Sháh When this rumour spread through the city, every man cut down with his sword each vanquished one without compassion. The Persians, hearing of the murder of their master, lost all self-control, and three thousand or more of them were put to death.

About midnight, the officers of Nádir Sháh, frightened and trembling, represented the state of affairs to the Sháh The Sháh, angry at being aroused, said, "The men of my army are maliciously accusing the people of Hindústán, so that I should kill a number of them, and give the signal for plunder" But when this information was repeated over and over again to the Sháh, he seized his sword, and in the Mosque of Rasadu-d daula (which is situated near the court of the superintendent of the police), he himself made that sword a standard, and issued the order for slaughter

From that night till five hours of the following day, man, woman, animal, and every living thing which came under the eyes of the Persians, was put to the sword, and from every house ran a stream[1] of blood. At last Muhammad Sháh mounted, and went to the Sháh to make intercession for God's people Nádir

[1] *Lit* "A Tigris"

Sháh, out of consideration for him, willingly acceded to his wishes, gave orders that the Persians should immediately cease from further slaughter, and desist from this unseemly work. In short, a proclamation of quarter was made, and the cry of this glad tidings resounded on all sides

After this, Nádir Sháh remained for some days, and collecting a great deal of treasure and wealth, he set out towards the capital of Írán On the way to Lattí, the ruler of Sind, who had come out with hostile designs, was defeated by Nádir Sháh with very little trouble, and obliged to submit. On the day Nádir Sháh set out for the capital of Írán, a notice was sent to Fúlád Khan, the superintendent of the police of Hindústán, intimating that not one of the Persians remained in Hindústán

LXXXIX

BURHÁNU-L FUTÚH

OF

MUHAMMAD 'ALÍ.

This rare work, immediately after the usual praises of the Creator and the Prophet, commences with an eulogium on History It informs us that stories of ancient heroes operate as a warning to posterity, and those relating to the manners and customs of great men and powerful monarchs form a rule for the existing sovereigns of the world For proud men and warriors, History is the surest means of knowing what acts every one has performed according to his power and understanding, what balls were struck by what bats, and how the games were won; how the swords of revenge were drawn against enemies, and how they were destroyed, how some by their arts, machinations and prudence, saved themselves from the hands of their adversaries, and how others, by the force of their arms and courage, conquered the countries of the world, what heroism warriors have displayed, and how with their swords, battle-axes, arrows, lances and daggers, they have cut off or broken the heads of foes, and darkened, as with night, the fields of battle with the dust of their feet From History also may be known what learned man flourished at what time, when a certain poet composed his poems, at what time a certain prose work was compiled, what miracle was performed by such a saint at such a time, what physician flourished at such a period, what caligrapher acquired fame in his profession, and at what time.

"As the advantages," he continues, "of this branch of learning are clearly obvious, and the motives to study it have been fully shown, this mean and sinful person, this criminal, shameful, forlorn, and abashed, embarrassed and distressed, this drowned in the ocean of fault and sin, this bad character and blackfaced one; this hoper of forgiveness from God, the Protector of great and small, viz Muhammad 'Alí, son of Muhammad Sádik-al Hasní-al Naishápúrí-al Hanafí, compiled this history, which is extracted from many other similar works, in an exceedingly condensed form, and to the extent of his power took great care in adjusting the dates Thus the periods of the births and deaths of the different kings, and the actions of different governors, may be found in the course of these narratives He has produced a polished mirror, in which are reflected all the prophets, saints, learned men, poets, sovereigns, princes, philosophers, ministers, *saiyids*, and physicians Having for many years dived into the depths of books, he brought out these pearls from those oceans"

The works which he quotes as his authorities are the *Rauzatu-s Safá*, *Habíbu-s Siyar*, Firishta, *Rauzatu-l Ahbab*, *'A'lam-ara*, *Jahan-kusha*, *Tazkiratu-l Fukaha*, *Tazkiratu Shu'ara*, *Zafar-nama*, *Tabakát-i Akbari*, *Futuh-i 'A'sam Kufi*, *Guzídah* of Hamdu-llah Mustaufí, *Mas'údi*, *Afzalu-t Tawaríkh*, *Jahan-ara*, *Nizamiya*, *Wassáf*, *Mu'ajjam*, *Majalisu-l Múminín*, *Lubbu-t Tawaríkh*, and *'A'lamgíri*

The author dedicates his work to Nawáb Burhánu-l Múlk Saiyid Sa'ádat Khán, upon whom he bestows a long and laboured eulogy In other parts of the work he takes every opportunity of lauding his patron, and at page 329 says that he alone is capable of competing with the Mahrattas, at the dread of whom all the other nobles of the Empire had at that time lost heart, and become alarmed It is in compliment to his patron's title of Burhánu-l Múlk that his work takes its name of *Burhánu-l Futuh*—"the demonstration of victories"

The work was composed in A.H 1148 (A.D. 1735-6),—and,

several years afterwards, we find the author dedicating it to another patron, and giving to it the better-known name of *Mir-átu-s Safá*, in which he most amusingly changes, omits, or adds sectarian passages to render his book acceptable to a *Sunni*, instead of a *Shí'a*.

The *Burhanu-l Futúh* has certainly great merit in its close attention to dates, which make it a very useful book of reference, though in other respects it is too short to be of any particular value The matter is a little expanded towards the close of the Dehlí history, which is brought down to the very year in which it was written It is divided into an Introduction, eighteen Books, and a Conclusion The Books are divided into several Chapters, and they again are subdivided into Sections The following Table will show the miscellaneous nature of their contents.

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rizm-sháhís, p 169, viii Isma'ílians, etc, p 171; ix. Atábaks of Músal, p 173, x Atabaks of Ázarbáíján, p 174; xi Atábaks of Fárs and Shíráz, p. 174, xii Atábaks of Lúristán, p. 175, xiii Ghorians of Khurásán, p 175, xiv Kirts of Hirát, p 176, xv. Kings of Mázandarán, p 177 Sec 1 Ancient Kings of Mázandarán, p 177, 2 Modern Kings of Mázandarán, p. 179 —Chap. xvi Kings of Rustamdár, p 182, xvii Kings of Sístán, p 184, xviii. Sultáns of Lár, p. 185, xix Shirwán-sháhís, p 187

Book VI —Chiefs of Arabia, p. 188 —Chap i Sultáns of Júiza, p. 188; ii Sultáns of Yemen, p 189, iii Sultáns of Misr and Shám, p 192, iv Hamadánites, p. 195; v 'Akílites, 196, vi. Asadides, p 197

Book VII.—House of Changíz Khán and its branches, p. 197 —Chap i The house of Changíz Khán, p 197, ii. Ilkánians, p 213, iii Chaupánians, p. 214, iv Kará-khitáians, p 215, v Muzaffarians, p 216, vi Sarbadária Kings of Sabzawár, p 220, vii Sultáns of the Kará-Kúínlú, p 221, viii Sultáns of the Ak-Kúínlú, p 222

Book VIII —Tímúr and his descendants who ruled over Írán and Túrán, p 224

Book IX —Saffaví Kings, p 240

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Book XII —Kings of Dehlí —Chap i Kings who ruled before Tímúr, p 295, ii Descendants of Tímúr who reigned in Hindústán, p 299

Book XIII.—Minor Dynasties of Hindústán, p 340 —Chap i Báhmaní Kings of the Dakhin, p 340, ii Nizám-sháhís, p 343, iii 'Ádil-sháhí Kings of Bíjápúr, p. 345, iv Kutb-sháhí Kings of Haidarábád, p 347, v 'Imád-sháhí Kings of Birár, p 350, vi. Barídia Kings of Bidar, p 350, vii Kings of Gujarát, p 351, viii Sultáns of Málwá, p 353, ix Sultáns of Khándesh and Burhánpúr, p 354, x Sultáns of Bengal, p 355, xi Sultáns of Jaunpúr, p. 359, xii Sultáns of Sind, p 359, xiii

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Book XV —*Súfis* and great Saints, p 383

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Book XVII —Miscellaneous occurrences since the establishment of the Hijra era, p 407

Book XVIII —Tribes of Arabia and Persia, p 409 —Chap i Those of Arabia, p 409, ii Those of Persia, p 412

Conclusion—Chronological Tables of Dynasties, p 415

Size—Small folio, containing 426 pages, with 18 lines to a page

The *Burhánu-l Futúh* is quite unknown I am fortunate enough to possess the autograph of the author, written in the year of composition, and no doubt the identical one presented to Nawáb Sa'ádat Khán, and stolen from the Royal Library I procured it in a *bazar* at Lucknow.

[The Extracts were translated by a *munshi*, and corrected by Sir H M Elliot They differ in some respects from a new copy of the *Mir-atu-s Safa* belonging to Sir Henry]

EXTRACTS

In this year (1121 A H, 1709 A D), in consequence of the rebellion and disturbances which were raised by Tárá Báí, wife of Sambhá, son of Sivá, Mír Ahmad Khán, Governor of Burhánpúr, was killed in the month of Safar, and great tumult arose in that city, equal to what may be expected in the day of resurrection In the city, besides Saiyid Zainu-d dín Khán *Kotwal*, who was left for its protection, there was also the father of the compiler of these leaves, who was appointed master of the royal ordnance Mír Ahmad Khán had sent them with orders to defend the ramparts of the city wall, and fortify the bastions

They used all their efforts to save the city and repel the enemy. The insurgents laid siege to the fort for eighteen days, and made great endeavours to take the city. They succeeded in burning many villages, and most of the *mansabdárs* who had accompanied Mír Ahmad Khán were taken prisoners by the enemy, who extorted something or other from all of them From Fidwíyat Khán Bakhshí 25,000 rupees were taken, and in the same manner some gave one thousand, and others less Sharafu-d dín Khán, accountant of the household expenses, being well versed in the art of music, declared that he was a singer of Mír Ahmad Khán, and thus easily obtained his release The other nobles said that they were barbers, and, after shaving, obtained their freedom from the place of destruction without paying any money With Mír Ahmad Khán, nineteen relatives of his were slain Zafar Khán, who was one of the respectable inhabitants of the city, and had no one equal to him in bravery, though severely wounded, escaped into the city with the greatest difficulty Sharza Khán Dakhiní, surnamed Saiyid Rustam Khán, one of the chief nobles who resided at Bálápur, in Birár, came with the utmost speed to relieve Burhánpúr, and as he had a large force, the enemy raised the siege and took to flight His Majesty granted the governorship of Burhánpúr to Saiyid Rustam Khán.

Various events which have occurred during the Hijra era

A H 14—Discovery of the composition of gunpowder

A H 64—'Abdu-llah, son of Zahír, built the temple of Mecca

A H 75—Money first coined by the Muhammadans. The *dinar* was a coin of Rúm, and the *dirham* of Persia.

A H 180—Fall of the tower in Alexandria in an earthquake

A H 237—A great fiery meteor appeared in 'Askalan, which was for a long time suspended between heaven and earth

A H 242.—A dreadful earthquake occurred and inflicted great damage throughout the world.

A.H 244.—A terrible noise was heard in Akhlát about the

time of midnight, and numerous men were alarmed to death In 'Irák hailstones fell which were one yard in diameter

A H 252 —A great famine raged in Baghdád, and the inhabitants of the city, to the number of about one-fourth, were starved to death

A H 269 —Túlún built a large tower over the tomb of Mu'ávia, and it is one of the curiosities of the world

A.H 278 —Rise of the Karmathians in Kúfa.

A H 279 —Books on Natural Philosophy were written, and the practice of selling and buying books was first introduced

A H 284 —In Egypt such darkness prevailed, that lamps were kept lighted for three days, and in Basrá red and yellow storms blew

A H. 286 —In Bahrain Abú Sa'íd Habání became chief of the Karmathians

A H 288.—In the West Abú 'Abdu-llah introduced the doctrines of the *Shí'as*

A H 328.—Stars fell from the sky, which appeared like birds of fire, and which greatly terrified the people

A H 330 —The Euphrates overflowed with such violence, that half of the city of Baghdád was inundated

A H 337 —The Euphrates again overflowed, and three-fourths of the city was covered with water

A H. 346 —The reflux of the Persian Gulf took place to such a degree, that new islands appeared Re and Tálikán were destroyed by the violence of an earthquake

A H 349 —A great quarrel broke out between the *Shí'a* and *Sunní* sects, and the latter prevailed on account of the abundance of the descendants of Háshim and the assistance of Mu'izzu-d daula.

A.H 351 —The *Shí'as* predominated, and reproachful sentences against the first Khalífs were engraved on doors and mosques in Baghdád

A H 352 —By the orders of Mu'izzu-d daula Dailamí, mournings for the death of Imám Husain (peace be on him!) were openly observed

A H. 358.—The words "Rise for a virtuous purpose" were introduced in the *ázan* by orders of the descendants of Fátima

A H 363.—The *khutba* of the descendants of 'Abbás was abolished in Mecca, by order of Mu'izzu-d dín Allah 'Alawí, and the words above mentioned were then also introduced into the *ázán*

A H 368.—'Azdu-d daula sent money to construct the fort of Medína

A H. 382.—A Shaikh came into the Court of the Khalífa of Baghdád from Yájúj and Májúj

A H 389.—Flags were first carried in commemoration of the death of Imám Husain (peace be on him!), and the *Marsias* or elegies, in commemoration of the event, were first read with loud cries and lamentations

A H 398.—The *Sunnis* obtained superiority over the *Shí'as*, and a great earthquake occurred in Dayúz.

A H 400.—The *Jáma' Masjid* was built in Egypt in the time of Hákimi-i Billah 'Alawí Isma'ílí

A.H 407.—The *Shí'as* of Wásit were put to flight by the *Sunnis*, and the temple *Baitu-l Mukaddas* was demolished

A H 413.—Occurrence of intense cold in the country of 'Irák, which froze the water of the watercourses and wells

A H 428.—A great famine raged in all the countries of the world, and about one-tenth of the people were starved to death

A H 432.—A dreadful earthquake occurred in Tabriz

A H 434.—Another earthquake occurred which destroyed Tabríz

A H 440.—The wall round the city of Shíráz was completed by Abú-l Mukárim, a Dailamí chief

A H 442.—A comet appeared

A H 443.—A fight took place between the *Sunnis* and the *Shí'as* in Baghdád, and the former were victorious

A.H 444.—The quarter of Baghdád in which the *Shí'as* resided was destroyed

A H 450.—The *Shí'as* obtained power over the *Sunnis* in Baghdád by the assistance of Basásarí (may peace be to him!)

A.H. 451.—The *Sunnis* overcame the *Shí'as*, and Basásairí was slain.

A.H. 452.—A great famine occurred in Egypt, and the people were reduced to a deplorable condition.

A.H. 454.—The Tigris overflowed, and Baghdád was inundated.

A.H. 456.—A great conflagration took place in Damascus, and the sepulchre of Baní 'Ummaiya was burnt.

A.H. 462.—Famine raged in the country, and a pestilential disease broke out in Egypt; the *khutba* of Fátima was abolished in the country of Hijáz.

A.H. 466.—The Tigris was again swollen, and Baghdad inundated.

A.H. 503.—The Firingís took the fort of Tripoli after a siege of seven years, and they also obtained possession of the forts of Bámas, Tarsúl, and Akiád.

A.H. 504.—The Firingís took the forts of Beyrout, Ayásif, and the stronghold of Saidú.

A.H. 505.—The foundation of the fort of Mashhed Mukaddas was laid by the exertions of Amír 'Alí.

A.H. 514.—Tombs of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were discovered in the well-known ravine.

A.H. 515.—Baghdád was burnt, and some of the pillars of Yamámi fell down.

A.H. 517.[1]—A total eclipse of the sun took place, so that the stars appeared during the day.

A.H. 516.[1]—The *Shí'a* creed was promulgated in the country of *Azarbáiján*.

A.H. 518.—Saifu-l Islám issued, after many years, a prohibition to the learned men in Mecca and Medína, that the words "Rise for a virtuous purpose" should not be cried out in the *azan*.

A.H. 600.—White dust fell from the sky.

A.H. 654.—A red flame was seen in the vicinity of Medína, and Baghdád was inundated by the river.

A.H. 669.—Damascus was inundated by the overflowing of the streams.

[1] *Sic* in orig.

A H 682 —A large flood came and inundated Damascus a second time

A H 692 —The flame again appeared in the vicinity of Medína

A H 694 —The water of the Nile fell, and a great famine occurred in Egypt

A H 695 —A terrible famine raged in the cities of Egypt and Syria, and men ate dogs, cats, and even their own children

A H 700 —The Ílkhání almanacs were invented

A H 701 —A pestilential disease broke out among men and all classes of animals

A H 718 —The astrologers were prohibited from pronouncing their predictions in Damascus, and a great famine took place in the continent and the islands.

A H 728 —The court-yard of the temple of Mecca was newly laid down

A H 731 —The canal was brought into the city of Aleppo

A H 739 —A great earthquake occurred in Western Tripoli

A H 740 —Fire descended from the heavens on the coasts of Syria and burnt many houses

A.H 746 —The palace of Kisra was demolished on the 4th of Safar

A H 749 —A dreadful plague ravaged the cities of Egypt and Syria

A H 802 —Fire caught the temple of Mecca and injured it

A H 819 —A great pestilence broke out in most of the cities of the world

A H 836 —A comet appeared.

A H 842 —The foundation of a *Jama' Masjid* was laid in Adaina

A H 844 —The *Jama' Masjid* was completed

A H 862 —Discovery of the New World by Columbus

A H 877 —A total eclipse of the sun took place on the 27th of Rabí'u-l awwal, and the stars appeared during the darkness

A H 883 —A great plague occurred in Mecca

A H 884 —Damascus was burnt

A H 901-904 —The rivers were greatly swollen, and pestilential diseases broke out in all the cities of Rúm

A.H 903 —A *Jama' Masjid* was founded in Constantinople

A H 912 —The Portuguese took possession of some of the coasts of India

A H 1012 —The medicinal properties of tobacco were discovered, and it was used in smoking, as it is now

A H 1030 —The water of the Bay of Constantinople was frozen by excess of cold

A H 1099.—A pestilential disorder broke out in Burhánpúr and the Dakhin, which continued till A H 1104, and destroyed half the people

A H 1116-1119 —A great famine occurred in Burhánpúr and the Dakhin, and many men died of hunger

A H 1140 —The rain fell very copiously in Burhánpúr, and the river Táptí rose so high that it inundated one-tenth of the city, and destroyed one-fourth of the houses

A H 1148 —Towards the end of the year such a violent earthquake occurred in Kashmír, that it destroyed about two thousand houses

XC

KANZU-L MAHFU'Z

"The Guarded Treasury" is so peculiar a name, that it probably represents the date when the work was first commenced, 1142 A H The narrative, however, is brought down to the year 1150 A H , or eight years subsequent.

The second volume only of this work has come into my possession, and in that nothing is stated with respect to the name and position of the author The first volume seems to have been devoted to miscellaneous subjects. We are told incidentally, in a passage at the beginning of the second volume, that, amongst other things, it contained a Treatise on Knowledge There could have been nothing on history, for that subject is exhausted in the second volume The names of authorities are not given in any general form, but the *Tabakat-i Nasiri* and *Tabakat-i Akbari* are quoted The only portion that can be considered original is the first portion on the duties and observances of kings and ministers, which is profusely illustrated by quotations from the Kurán

This work is very rare I have seen but one copy, which is in the possession of Sa'ídu-d dín Ahmad Khán, of Murádábád As before mentioned, it is deficient in the first volume It was transcribed in 1188 A H , in the *Nast'alík* character

CONTENTS.

On the Duties and Observances of Kings and Ministers, pp 1 to 50—The 'Ummayide and 'Abbáside Khalífs, pp 57 to 62—Ghaznivides, pp 63 to 78—Kings of Dehlí before Bábar, pp 73 to 141—Tímúrian Dynasty down to Muhammad Sháh, pp

141 to 283—Kings of the Dakhin, pp. 283 to 300—Sultáns of Gujarát, pp. 301 to 315—Sultáns of Málwá, pp. 316 to 330—Sultáns of Bengal, pp. 331 to 335—Sultáns of Jaunpúr, pp. 336 to 339—Rulers of Sind, pp. 339 to 342—Rulers of Multán, pp. 343 to 346—Sultáns of Kashmír, pp. 346 to 357—Brief Description of Hindústán, pp. 357 to 358.

SIZE—Large 8vo., 358 pages, each comprising 22 lines.

EXTRACT.

In the city of Agra there was a large temple, in which there were numerous idols, all adorned and embellished with precious jewels and valuable pearls. It was the custom for the infidels to resort to this temple from far and near several times in each year to worship the idols, and a certain fee to the Government was fixed upon each man, for which he obtained admittance. As there was a large congress of pilgrims, a very considerable amount was realized from them, and paid into the royal treasury. This practice had been observed to the end of the reign of the Emperor Sháh Jahán, and in the commencement of Aurangzeb's government; but when the latter was informed of it, he was exceedingly angry, and abolished the custom. The greatest nobles of his Court represented to him that a large sum was realized and paid into the public treasury, and that if it were abolished, a great reduction in the income of the State would take place. The Emperor observed, "What you say is right, but I have considered well on the subject, and have reflected on it deeply; but if you wish to augment the revenue, there is a better plan of attaining that object by exacting the *jizya*. By this means idolatry will be suppressed, the Muhammadan religion and the true faith will be honoured, our proper duty will be performed, the finances of the State will be increased, and the infidels will be disgraced." On hearing this all the nobles and ministers of the throne admired and praised the wisdom of the Emperor, who added, that "by this plan the money would be saved, because the infidels came several times in a year and paid only a

little into the treasury; but they will pay the *jizya* only once a year, and the Government income will be increased, which is the grand object" This was highly approved of by all the nobles, and the Emperor ordered all the golden and silver idols to be broken, and the temple destroyed The revenue of the Government was much increased, it not only exceeded *lacs*, but came up to several *krors* The *jizya* was collected from all, great and small, Hindús as well as rebel infidels, in all parts of the Empire, which extended on three sides to the sea The Government officers also made great exertions in levying it, and in no case acted with indulgence and partiality Consequently Islám acquired great predominance, and the Muhammadans were so dreaded that, for instance, if a Hindú went riding on his horse, and a peon of the office which collected the tax caught him, the colour of his face instantly changed, and he began to coax the peon, but until he had shown the receipt for the *jizya* of the year, he could not stir a step from the place without being taken to the office But at present the rule for the *jizya* is totally abolished.

XCI

TÁRÍKH-I HINDÍ

OF

RUSTAM 'ALÍ

The author of this work is Rustam 'Alí, son of Muhammad Khalil Sháhabádi He gives as the immediate reason of writing the *Taríkh-i Hindí*, that contemporaries, from excessive attachment to this world, neglected entirely to ponder on their existence, either as regards its origin or end, and from their firm belief, under the delusions of their evil passions, in the long duration of their lives in this world of mutations, pursued a presumptuous and vain line of conduct So he entertained a desire to commit to writing a brief account of just kings, and how they controlled oppressors and tyrants, in the hope that, while it might prove a lesson to the wise, it would not fail to draw the attention of intelligent readers to the instability of all earthly pleasures, and the short duration of human life, and so induce them to withdraw their affections from this world

The execution of his intention was, however, suspended for a time by necessities, which compelled him to travel from city to city in search of employment and subsistence, until at last he was fortunate enough to take up his abode in Bhopál Here, for a period of three years, he subsisted on the munificence of certain great men and many sincere friends, more especially on the liberal support of Nawáb Yár Muhammad Khán, "a just nobleman under whose administration the inhabitants of the dependencies

of Bhopál enjoy the blessings of peace." As the wants of the author were thus supplied, he attained peace of mind, and was enabled to compose the work which was the object of his heart's desire

The *Táríkh-i Hindi* was composed in the year 1154 A H (1741-2 A D) as we learn, not only from an ambiguous passage in the Preface, but from an express declaration to that effect at the beginning of the tenth chapter The history also closes at that period, though towards the end of the work the twenty-fourth year of Muhammad Sháh is mentioned, which would make it a year later Only six pages, however, preceding this passage, the author reiterates the statement that the work was composed in the twenty-third year of Muhammad Sháh's reign It may be considered altogether a useful compilation, as it is not copied verbatim from known authors, and in the latter part of it the author writes of many matters which came under his own observation or those of his friends. Amongst the works which he most frequently quotes are two, of which no traces can be obtained,—the *Siyar-i Hindi* and the *Fauzat-i Akbari*. The former is frequently mentioned, from the time of the Slave Dynasty to the reign of Farrukh Siyar, and must, therefore, be a general History of India The quotations from the *Fauzat-i Akbari* are rarer, but extend from the time of Mahmúd Ghaznaví to the time of Muhammad Sháh It appears to be partly a religious work, containing some historical anecdotes, for in the conclusion, in the chapter upon holy men, he says that it was composed by Sháh Ghulám Muhíu-d dín, and dedicated to his spiritual teacher, Saiyid Sháh 'Alí Akbar, after whom it was called *Fauzat-i Akbari*. Other works incidentally quoted are the *Táríkh-i Badauni*, *Habibu-s Siyar*, *Khulasatu-t Tawáríkh*, *Tarikh-i Akbar-shahi*, *Táríkh-i Farrukh Siyar*, *Táríkh-i Jahángíri*, *Mir-át-i Mas'údi*, *Tarikh-i Shahabi*, and the *Tarikh-i Mahmúdí* It is probable that the last two are familiar works disguised under uncommon appellations

The author is fond of indulging in poetical quotations

sentences from the Kurán, and moral reflections But the quotations have been excluded from the following Extracts

This History is divided into an Introduction, ten Chapters (*tabaka*), and a Conclusion

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Size —8vo, containing 651 pages, each of 11 lines

The only copy which I know of the *Tarikh-i Hindi* was obtained for me by the kindness of Miyán Faujdár Muhammad Khán, from the library of Nawáb Sikandra Begam of Bhopál, and being in the possession of the descendants of Yár Muhammad Khán, the patron of the author, it is perhaps unique But though there may be more copies in Bhopál it is probable there are very few beyond the precincts of that city

[The Extracts which follow were translated by a *munshi*, and revised by Sir H. M Elliot]

EXTRACTS

Reign of Abu-l Fath Nasiru-d din Muhammad Sháh

This Prince was a lover of pleasure and indolence, negligent of political duties, and addicted to loose habits, but of somewhat a generous disposition He was entirely careless regarding his subjects As is well known, this Emperor, so long as *Amiru-l umara* Husain 'Alí Khán lived, strictly observed, by virtue of the efficient management of that great Saiyid, all the ancient

laws and established rules of his ancestors. The achievement of all undertakings, the arrangement of all political affairs, and the execution of all wars were carried on in an excellent manner by the wisdom of that high nobleman The Emperor decided all disputes without partiality, according to the Muhammadan law, but when some of the nobles, natives of this country and of Túrán, *overcome by their evil passions, and merely through envy* and malice, put that well-wisher of the creatures of God to death, to the great mortification of poor people and all good subjects, the Emperor became master of his own will, and, actuated by his youthful passions and folly and pride, resigned himself to frivolous pursuits and the company of wicked and mean characters This created a spirit of opposition and enmity towards him in those very nobles who, from their malicious disposition, had been the instruments of the death of Husain 'Alí Khán The *Emperor, on account of the rebellion of the nobles*, the fear of his own life, and the temptations of his evil passions, shut up the gate of justice and gave no ear to complaints As the splendour and delight of the garden of this world, and the verdure and fruitfulness of the fields of this earth, depend upon the flow of the stream of the equity and justice of Kings, so the withering of the trees of this world is caused by the hot winds of the negligence and carelessness of rulers and dissensions among well-disposed nobles

In a short time, many of the officers of this kingdom put out their feet from the path of obedience to the sovereign, and many of the infidels, rebels, tyrants and enemies stretched out the hands of rapacity and extortion upon the weaker tributaries and the poor *subjects Great* disorders arose in the country, which shall be briefly related, according to each year of the reign, if God please

Fifth Year of the Reign

At the end of this year, Sharfu-d daula Irádatmand Khán, with a body of nobles, was sent against Rája Ajít Singh, who,

having broken out into open mutiny, and taken possession of Ajmír and Sámbhar, had reached as far as Nárnaul. He was accompanied by Rája Jai Singh Sawáí, Muhammad Khán Bangash, and Gopál Singh, Raja of Bhadáwar, at the head of an army of about one hundred thousand horse and more than two hundred elephants. Rája Ajít Singh, on hearing the news, lost all courage, fled from Nárnaul, and took refuge in the fort of Garh-pattí. Here he held out for some time, and at last, mounting a camel, went off to Jodhpúr. He then sued for peace, and made over his son, Dhunkal Singh, to the nobles to carry to Court. In the mean time, Ajit Singh was slain by his younger son, Bakht Singh, and Dhankal Singh, upon reaching the Court, obtained the investiture of the chiefship. He returned to his country, and became its ruler. His brother, Bakht Singh, besieged the fort of Nágor, and having driven out the Rája of that place, became himself master of it. In the same year Rája Jai Singh founded a magnificent new city between the towns of Amber and Sangánír, and called it Jaipur, after the name of Sawáí Jai Singh.

SIXTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

Nizámu-l Mulk, being disgusted with the Emperor, went towards Murádábád and Sambhal, under the pretence of hunting. When he had gone as far as the Ganges, near the town of Garh Muktesar, he at once turned aside from his course, and proceeding *via* Kol and Jalesar, crossed the Chambal and went towards the Dakhin. The Emperor, on hearing of this, sent orders to Mubáriz Khán, appointing him governor of that province, and instigating him to destroy Nizámu-l Mulk. Mubárizu-l Mulk in consideration of the obligations he owed, went from Haidarábád towards Aurangábád. Nizámu-l Mulk sued for peace, but Mubáriz Khán was destined for the honour of martyrdom, so he did not listen to his advances, and rashly engaged in fight. The brave warriors, having boldly fought, put many insurgents to the sword. By chance,

Mubárizu-l Mulk was slain, and Nizámu-l Mulk, in perfect security, obtained the governorship of the Dakhin Muhammad Sháh, on being informed of this, was obliged to confer the post of minister, which was vacated by Nizámu-l Mulk, on I'timádu-d daula Kamru-d dín Khán, and sent a *farman* to Nizámu-l Mulk, appointing him governor of the Dakhin, and bestowing on him the rank of vicegerency and the title of Ásaf Jáh

SEVENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

In this year a person, having assumed the name of Sábir Sháh, went to Kumáon, and represented to the Rája of that place, whose name was Debí Singh, that he was one of the princes of the house of Tímúr, and thus obtained repeated orders on the functionaries below the hills at Kásipúr and Rudarpúr, to the effect that they should give him a red tent, such as is usual for the royal family, as well as some troops to accompany him. Having carried these orders into effect, they collected no less than forty thousand Rohillas Shaikh 'Azamatu-llah Khán, who in those days was the governor of Murádábád and Sambhal, was sent to quell the insurrection, with a body of fifteen thousand horse and twelve elephants In a single attack he overthrew the Rohilla army The Afgháns were dispersed, and many were put to the sword Sábir Sháh fled towards the east, and went to Burhánu-l Mulk, who, having captured him, sent him to the Emperor, under the custody of Muríd Khán, a noble of high rank, and he was ordered to be imprisoned

NINTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

A dispute arose in the Emperor's audience chamber between Muzaffar Khán and Burhánu-l Mulk, because the latter officer, in the province of Oudh, had taken possession of the *jágírs* of *mansabdars* It continued many days, and at last Mír Jumla Yár Khán was appointed by the Emperor of the World to decide

it He was of opinion that Burhánu-l Mulk should resign the governorship of Oudh, and Muzaffar Khán the office of superintendent of the ordnance The former situation, in consequence of the removal of Burhánu-l Mulk, was given to Muzaffar Khán, and Burhánu-l Mulk was to be appointed governor of Málwá This decision was approved and confirmed, and the office of the superintendent of ordnance, which was vacated by Muzaffar Khán, was entrusted to Sá'du-d din Khán, in whose place, Sher Afghán Khán was appointed steward of the household Muzaffar Khán, with the intention of going to the province of Oudh, pitched his tents near Patparganj, and Burhánu-l Mulk marched towards Málwá, but when the latter reached Ágra, he at once crossed the river Jumna, and went towards Oudh Muzaffar Jang was consequently obliged to proceed to Ajmir, as the government of that province included Nárnaul and Sámbhar

Tenth Year of the Reign

Muhammad Khan Bangash Ghazanfar Jang with an army of eighty thousand horse and more than a hundred elephants, proceeded to the province of Allahabad, to fight against Rája Chatrsal After great exertions and many actions, the fort of Jitgarh, where he resided, was taken Chatrsál fled for refuge to the *Zamindars* of Jharna and Purna, and the whole territory came into the possession of the Khán

Burhánu-l Mulk led an army against the fort of Chachandí, near Sháhábád Kanauj the chief of which was Hindu Singh, a Chandela Rájput He was, however, not to be subdued, but Rája Gopal Singh Bhadauria, who accompanied Burhánu-l Mulk, under the pretence of making peace, went to Hindú Singh and told him that it was not expedient to quarrel with the Emperor's nobles, that he should leave the fort for three days and he called God to witness that after three days, when peace would be concluded the possession of the fort should be restored to him Hindu Singh was deceived, and left the fort, and with his family and

property pitched his tents at some distance. The third day, by the order of Burhánu-l Mulk, Rája Gopál Singh, breaking his word, took the fort and *zamindarí* into his own possession. Consequently Hindú Singh, having no remedy, prepared to fight with the army of Burhánu-l Mulk, which amounted to about sixty thousand horse, but, baffled in his attempt, retreated towards the territory of Chatrsál. As a punishment for violating his promise, Rája Gopál Singh soon hastened towards his own destruction. After his death, his son, Antrat Singh, was confirmed in possession of that district.

Eleventh Year of the Reign

The brother-in-law of Tahawwur Khán, named Muhammad Afzal, according to the Emperor's orders, succeeded Tahawwur Khán as his heir in the *zamindarí* of Sháh Jahánpúr, and took possession of it. 'Abdu-llah Khán and Zuhúru-llah Khán, brothers of Táju-d dín Khán, who had fled away towards Shamsábád-maú, in conjunction with Mír Khurram 'Alí, a relative of the author, collected eight thousand horse of the Rohilla tribe, and advanced towards that city. Muhammad Afzal came out against him with a large body of Afghans. A most fierce battle was fought near the city on the banks of the Garra. Muhammad Afzal was slain, and 'Abdu-llah Khán became master of the *zamindarí*.

Mír Mushrif, who was one of the principal officers of the great Emperor, departed from this perishable world to the everlasting regions, and was buried in a garden which he had himself made.

Twelfth Year of the Reign.

Saiyid Míran, who was truly a man of great virtue and devotion, went on a Friday to the *Jama' Masjid* of Dehlí, and, in order to attract attention to the wrongs of the oppressed

people, prohibited the reading of the *khutba*, upon which, the *Hazaris* of the artillery, under the Emperor's orders, put him to death. From that day disturbances arose throughout the kingdom, and enemies and rebels gained more and more power every day. The Emperor greatly regretted this event, but to no purpose.

It was reported to the Emperor that the base enemy (the Mahrattas),[1] having crossed the Nerbadda, had attacked Girdhar Bahádur, the Governor of Málwá, and plundered his camp.

The Emperor also received intelligence in this year that Bájí Ráo Mahratta, having collected an army of 100,000 horse, had come to assist Rája Chatrsal, and had besieged Muhammad Khán Bangash in Jitgarh. The time of the decadence of the Empire had arrived, and in retaliation for shedding the innocent blood of Saiyid Mián, no plan of repelling the enemy proved effectual. From that time to this the power and dominion of that tribe has daily increased. The siege of Jitgarh lasted for six months, and within the fort one *ser* of flour was sold for eighty rupees. At last Chatrsal obliged Muhammad Khán to evacuate the fort, and having given him back some of the horses which he had plundered from him, allowed him to depart. In the way, the Khán met with his son, Kaim Khán, at the head of twelve thousand horse, and both father and son returned to their native city Farrukhábád, which had been founded in the name of Muhammad Farrukh Siyar. From that time the population increased every day, and gradually it became a very large city.

In this year, in the month of Sha'bán, a great tumult arose in the *Jama Masjid*, to avenge the death of a Musulmán who was slain by a Hindu of the name of Subh Karan. The Hindus were assisted by the Royal *mutasaddis* (or writers). On Friday, at about 3 o'clock a great fight took place. Seventeen men were killed within the Masjid, and Sher Afghán Khán, the Emperor's steward, having received a wound, escaped by the assistance of Roshanu-d daula.

[1] Throughout the Mahrattas are designated simply as *ghanim* "enemies."

THIRTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

Muhammad Khán Bangash Ghazanfar Jang was appointed Governor of the province of Málwá, on condition of his chastising the enemy. When he went there, he sometimes fought with them, sometimes connived at their proceedings, and in this manner managed to prolong the period of his government.

FOURTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

Information was received that Muhammad Khán Ghazanfar Jang had crossed the Nerbadda, and joined Nizámu-l Mulk. He was removed from the government of Málwá, and Rája Jai Singh Sawáí was appointed in his stead.

In this year Mír Jumla Tarkhán, one of the greatest nobles, and a man of learning and a friend of the learned, who was chiefly engaged in the study of the natural sciences, according to the will of God, departed this transitory world. This Mír Jumla was called Mír 'Ibádu-llah. He came to Hindústán from Samarkand in search of his father, Mír Abú-l Wafá, who had become *kází* of Benares. By degrees he himself was appointed *kází* of the province of Bengal, and when Prince Muhammad Farrukh Siyar became governor of that province, he made him his tutor. During the time of this Prince's reign he was reckoned one of the greatest nobles of the State, and had the conduct of all political affairs in his hands. At last, through the hostility of the Saiyids, he was deprived, after the murder of Farrukh Siyar, of all the insignia of nobility; but, by the favour of Husain 'Alí Khán, he was again raised to his former rank and *jágír*, as well as to the office of *Sadru-s sudúr*. He was a person of exceeding generosity, and gave away *lacs* of rupees. He was often heard to say, that as regards the works of this world, he had only one desire unfulfilled, which was that he had never been able to give any person a present of one *kror* of rupees. He loved knowledge and learned men,

because by means of his learning he had reached the Emperor's Court, and obtained his rank

In the same year, at the instigation of Rája Jai Singh, the vile enemy took possession of Málwá, and the Rája himself added to his own territory many *parganas* which belonged to the Emperor in the vicinity of Amber Dhankal Singh, Rája of Márwár, sacked the district of Rewárí, which is thirty *kos* from Dehlí, and took thirteen *lacs* of rupees from the authorities of that place The enemies in all parts of the country stretched out their hands to ravage and plunder

Fifteenth Year of the Reign

Wazíru-l Mulk I'timádu-d daula Kamru-d dín Khán, with 70,000 horse, marched from Dehlí against Udárú, the *Zamíndár* of Kora Jahánábád, who had killed Ján Nisár Khán Udárú, on receiving the intelligence, retired from the district and Kamru-d dín Khán returned to the seat of Empire through Kanauj and Farrukhábád

Sixteenth Year of the Reign

Muzaffar Khán, brother of Khán-daurán Khán, accompanied by Jai Singh and other Rájas, was despatched with a large army against the enemy, but being informed at Sironj that they had crossed the Nerbudda, and gone to the Dakhin, he returned to the capital

Seventeenth Year of the Reign

According to the Emperor's orders, I'timadu-d daula Kamru-d dín Khán Nusrat Jang, with a large army, many elephants, and heavy ordnance moved towards the enemy through Ágra, and Amíru-l umará Bahádur Samsámu-d daula Mansúr Jang, with many nobles and Rájas, and at the head of an army said to amount to 90,000 horse, and a large park of artillery, marched through the territory of Mewát But through the misrepresen-

tations of Rája Jai Singh, he was induced to give orders not to commence an action One day, however, as 'Alí Hámid Khán, one of the chief nobles, had left camp, he encountered by chance a body of the enemy Although he had no force with him at the time, yet with his few attendants he repulsed the assailants, and returned to the camp in safety As the *Amíru-l umará* would not engage with the enemy, one of the nobles named Tír-andáz Khán deserted him, and departed with three hundred horse with the intention of going to Dehlí, upon which a party of the enemy, acting, it is said, under the instructions of Rája Jai Singh, hastened in pursuit, and having overtaken him, surrounded him on all sides like a swarm of ants and locusts Tír-andáz Khán showed great courage, and after fighting nobly, met with the honour of martyrdom. Of his followers some were killed, and others fell prisoners into the hands of the enemy

In the mean time, one of the enemy, by name Malhárjí, with a body of 45,000 horse, overran some of the *parganas* of Rája Jai Singh, and laid siege to the fort of Sámbhar After three days the city was taken and plundered It is said that nine hundred inhabitants of the city were killed and wounded. He took a contribution of one hundred and fifty thousand rupees, besides two elephants and some horses from Fakhru-d dín Husain Khán, son of Udú Afghán Khán, the then governor of the place, and returned to oppose the army of the *Amíru-l umará*

The *Amíru-l umará*, deceived by Rája Jai Singh, returning to the capital without coming once to action, arrived on the 17th of Zí-l hijja I'timádu-d daula, who had gone to oppose the enemy *viá* Ágra, fought with Pílújí Mahratta, near Narwar

At last, he also, leaving the result of the war, returned to Dehli on the 29th of Zí-l hijja in the same year

Eighteenth Year of the Reign

The enemy went to the territory of Mewár, which is ruled by theRáná, reached the city of Udípúr, and having taken a con-

tribution from the Ráná, turned towards Márwár, plundered the city of Mírtá, took some tribute from Bakht Singh, Rája of Nágor, and then arrived at Ajmír The Mahratta chiefs alighted from their horses and with the utmost respect visited the tomb of the great and venerable Khwája, and thence advanced to the fort of Rúpnagar Raja Sáwant Singh had busied himself in strengthening the fort with heavy guns The army of the enemy, seeing no way of success, retreated, after suffering much loss, towards Jaipúr In the mean time, Yádgár Khán Ráo, Saiyid Kirparán, and Najábat 'Alí Khán, the nephew of Husain 'Alí Khán, went to Jai Singh, to request his interposition in coming to some accommodation with the enemy All these officers, with the concurrence of Rája Jai Singh, gave the enemy in the district of Kishangarh a sum of twenty *lacs* of rupees on the part of the Emperor, to induce them to return to the Dakhin, when they themselves returned to Dehlí

During this year Burhánu-l Mulk Sa'ádat Khán went towards Kora Jahánábád The chief of that tract, named Bhagwant, son of Udáru, who before this, having killed Ján Nisár Khán, governor of that place, had greatly injured and oppressed the peasantry, on receiving the news of the Burhánu-l Mulk's advance, marched forward with a body of vagabonds amounting to twenty-five thousand horse and foot The army of Burhánu-l Mulk, excepting himself and two thousand horse, had not yet crossed the Ganges, when suddenly the army of that ringleader of the infidels appeared After both parties had met, much fighting ensued Bhagwant Singh himself shot an arrow which wounded Burhánu-l Mulk in the arm But that lion of the field of courage immediately drew it out, and in turn shot that vile infidel in the forehead, and sent him to the next world Many of his followers were slain, and the rest fled away Burhánu-l Mulk victoriously returned to camp, and ordered him to be flayed, and his skin to be filled with straw His head and that of his son were placed on the points of spears and sent to the capital.

In the beginning of Sha'bán of this year the compiler of this work saw with his own eyes the skins and heads of both those unfortunate wretches hanging in the *bázar* of Dehlí near the Police Office.

Nineteenth Year of the Reign.

The Mahratta armies entered the territory of Bhadáwar, the chief of which, Amrat Singh, collected an army, advanced from the town of Ater with the utmost intrepidity, and gave battle at the distance of a *kos* from that town It is commonly reported that the army of the Rája consisted of seven thousand horse, twenty thousand foot, and forty-five elephants, while that of the invaders amounted to near one hundred thousand horse The war continued for one month, and although the territory of Bhadáwar lay close to the capital, yet that Emperor, the asylum of negligence, took no measures for the expulsion of the foe It is said that one of the brothers of the Rája, who had long cherished hatred against him in his own bosom, joined with the enemy, who, at his instigation, left half of his army to confront the Rája, and sent the other half through the towns of Gohad and Barhad to the town of Ater, which they began to plunder The Rája was obliged to retreat, fighting all the way with the enemy, and got safe into the fort Although the enemy had plundered much treasure and property, yet he took besides a contribution of twenty *lacs* of rupees in cash and ten elephants

After this, in the beginning of Zí-l hijja of the same year, the enemy's army having crossed the river Jumna, near the village of Rápri, besieged the fort of Shukohábád. Lálji Khatri, the governor of that place, presented him one hundred and fifty thousand rupees and an elephant, and thus saved the town Marching thence, the invaders burnt down Fírozábád and I'timádpúr, which is five *kos* from the capital, Agra, and plundered them, and then proceeded towards Jálesar. All of a sudden, about dawn, Burhánu-l Mulk drew near, having marched from Etáwa in

pursuit of the enemy At first, his nephew Abú-l Mansúr Khán Safdar Jang, with twelve thousand horse, came in sight, when the Mahrattas, with their usual confidence, considering his force to be small, urrounded him on all sides Abú-l Mansúr Khán slowly retreated, fighting all the way, till he reached the spot occupied by Burhánu-l Mulk, at the head of fifty thousand horse When the Mahrattas approached near, he suddenly charged the army of those rebels with his cavalry, like a wolf falling upon sheep, or a tiger upon a deer Thus those vagabonds, seized by the hand of death, were obliged to run away in alarm towards the forest

The Muhammadan army pursued them, made heaps of the slain, and kept the battle raging for the distance of thirty-five *kos* A body of the invaders were overtaken near the tank of I'timádpúr, and three chiefs with about a thousand men were taken prisoners Those who escaped the sword crossed the river Jumna. Many of them missed the ford, and were drowned in the river of eternity, but most of them escaped and joined their countrymen When the prisoners were brought before Burhánu-l Mulk, he gave each man a rupee for his expenses, and set them all at liberty, but he kept the three chiefs loaded with chains After this he returned towards Sháh-Jahanábád, from which place *Amiru-l umará* Khán-daurán was advancing with a body of twenty-five thousand horse, some guns, and many elephants, accompanied by Muhammad Khán Bangash Ghazanfar Jang, at the head of twelve thousand horse The army, which in the beginning of Zi-l ka'da had been ordered by His Majesty to proceed against the enemy, met Burhánu-l Mulk near the city of Mathura, in the beginning of the month of Zí-l hijja

One day, the *Amiru-l umara* invited Burhánu-l Mulk to his tents and prepared a feast for his reception In the midst of the banquet it was suddenly reported that the enemy's army, having marched through the town of Fathpúr, and leaving Díg, the native land of Badná Ját, on the right, had arrived at Dehlí. Burhánu-l

Mulk, on hearing this, bit the finger of sorrow with the teeth of distraction, and, mounting an elephant, hastened towards that city It is commonly said that I'timádu-d daula Kamru-d dín Khán, who, with the intention of expelling the enemy, was then encamped near Kámán Paharí, also returned to Dehlí In the mean time, Rája Jai Singh, having marched from Jaipúr with an army of fifty thousand Rájpút horse and above seventy elephants, advanced as far as the town of Nimránú, but when he heard the news of Burhánu-l Mulk's march towards the capital, he returned to Jaipúr. The enemy's army, having sacked the village of Nakal, near Dehlí, went to the shrine of the great Khwája Kutbu-d dín, but as they could not obtain admittance, they plundered the inhabitants of the place, and the next day appeared before the Bárahpola Early in the morning, according to the Emperor's orders, Mír Hasan Khán, the commandant of the Emperor's body-guard, came out to oppose him with a body of one thousand *mansabdari* horse Immediately behind him, Amír Khán, and other nobles, with a large army and artillery, came out of the city, and stood before the enemy, but as they had not been ordered to fight, they did not commence the battle Mír Hasan Khán and Rája Sheo Singh, however, advanced and fought valiantly * * During the fight the enemy retreated, and pitched their tents near Tál Katorá The next morning, on hearing the news of Burhánu-l Mulk's arrival, Bájí Ráo, the chief of the Mahrattas, rode like a jackal running away at the roar of a tiger, and fled from the place. Kamru-d dín Khán, who had advanced with three hundred men, engaged in a severe skirmish, and retired after killing some of his opponents

As Burhánu-l Mulk had advanced without orders and engaged with the enemy, he fell under His Majesty's displeasure, and being distressed at this, he crossed the Jumna without an interview with the Emperor, and returned to his own residence. When the *Amiru-l umara* and Muhammad Khán were returning to Dehlí, the Játs of the village of Mitrol, between Kodal and Palwal, fell on their baggage and plundered it. Consequently

the army surrounded the village, and having sacked it, set it on fire. The *Amíru-l umara* entered the seat of the Empire, and, according to the royal orders, Muhammad Khán returned to Ágra for its protection Towards the end of the same year Nizámu-l Mulk arrived from the Dakhin, and on Monday, the 16th of Rabí'u-l awwal, had an interview with His Majesty in the capital

Twentieth Year of the Reign

In the commencement of this year 8000 horse of the Ráthor Rájpúts, among whom were eighteen chiefs, the relatives of Rája Dhankal Singh, assembled on some pretence in the city of Sámbhar Bhárat Singh, their leader, by whose hands Shaikh Illahyár Khán of Bilgrám had been slain in the battle which was fought between Sarbuland Khán and Dhankal Singh, openly drank wine on a Friday in the Masjid of Sámbhar, and prohibited the *muazzin* from calling to prayer It happened that Hayátu-llah Khán, son of Jamálu-llah Khán, the governor of the place, with a few men, went to them in the evening After some verbal altercation, the matter ended in a regular fight That lion of the field of battle thrust Bhárat Singh into the well of destruction with a stroke of his lance The market of the angel of death was thronged through the use of rockets, arrows, and lances. Eighteen chiefs of the opponents were slain, and the rest fled away Three followers of the Khán, who were Saiyids of Nárnaul, obtained the degree of martyrdom, and were interred near the tomb of Saiyid Husain Khán

During this year I'timádu-d daula Kamru-d dín Khán, with 50,000 horse and many elephants and guns, moved towards Bárha, the native place of the Saiyids, and sent 'Azímu-llah Khán Zahíru-d daula with a large army to precede him 'Azímu-llah Khán, for fear of his life, placed several guns around him in the shape of a triangle. Saifu-d dín 'Alí Khán, brother of Kutbu-l Mulk and Husain 'Alí Khán, who was the chief of

Bárha, with three hundred horse, boldly attacked that miserable body. When the Mughals fired their guns, a great number of the Saiyids were killed, but Saifu-d dín 'Alí Khán, with a few other Saiyids, to avenge their death, drew out their swords, and repulsed the Mughals to the distance of three miles Suddenly the wanderer of the forest of wretchedness and misfortune, by name 'Alí Muhammad, a Rohilla, at the direction of I'timádu-d daula, and with the hope of preferment, came from the rear with 20,000 Rohillas, and fell upon the Saiyids. Thus he sacrificed the good of the next world to the desires of this earth, and became the cause of victory to the Turánís 'Azímu-llah Khán, having buried the Saiyids, returned to Dehlí laden with immense plunder, and accompanied by I'timádu-d daula. It was just punishment of this crime of persecuting the Saiyids, that soon after they suffered the calamities occasioned by Nádir Sháh

In this year Nizámu-l Mulk, on the condition of subduing the enemy, was appointed governor of Ágra and Málwá Proceeding through Bundelkhand, he reached the latter province, and a battle was fought with the enemy near the town of Bhopál, founded by Dost Muhammad Khán, whose eldest son, Yár Muhammad Khán, is still ruling over it with wisdom and equity.

As the crooked mind of Nizámu-l Mulk was bent towards such things as were contrary to what his name imports, viz administration, he allowed disturbances to break out in the country, and with his eyes open suffered for one or two days grain to be sold in his camp one *sír* for a rupee On account of the tumults and quarrels raised by him, many people were hastened to their graves with the stroke of starvation, and many Musulmáns, by the tricks of that unprincipled man, fell into the hands of the enemy, and met with their destruction At last, on being informed of this, Muhammad Sháh sent orders appointing Báji Ráo to the governorship of Málwá. Nizámu-l Mulk, reproached by the people, and deceived by the enemy, returned to the capital. The Mahrattas laid siege to the fort of Kota; and the Maháráo Rája fled away in alarm, and took refuge in Gágrún,

which is one of the strongest forts in that part of the country. The inhabitants of Kota, to preserve their honour, opposed the ravagers and saved the city. At last peace was declared, and the invader, having taken a contribution of several *lacs* of rupees, went towards Ahírwárá, the country of the tribe of Ahírs. He overran this district, and besieged the fort of Korwái, near the town of Sironj, which was the residence of 'Izzat Khán, son of Diler Khán Afghán. 'Izzat Khán fought very bravely for two months, when peace was made. During the siege of Korwái, the compiler of this work went to the enemy's camp. On seeing the fort encircled like the stone of a ring by the army which resembled swarms of ants and locusts, the safety of those who were in it appeared impossible, but the result deceived expectation.

When Nizámu-l Mulk, with all the pomp and circumstance attaching to his high station, accompanied the Mahrattas against the fort of Bhopál, Yár Muhammad Khán, ruler of the place, who was celebrated for his courage, by dint of great bravery and determination, expelled Nizámu-l Mulk out of his possessions without sustaining any injury from the insurgents. Many nobles and other respectable people, on account of the ravage and desolation committed in the Emperor's dominions by the enemy, found protection in this territory, and lived in peace and tranquillity under the Khan's just rule.

The compiler of this book, on hearing the praises of the Khán, left the enemy's camp at Sironj, and came to the city of Bhopál, which is full of nobles and excellent people from all parts of the country. In fact, from the day he had left Sháh-Jahánábád, and travelled through the country of idolatry, it was here only that he found Islám to be predominant.

It is said that Bhopál was founded in the time of Rája Bhoj. Afterwards by some accident it was ruined and reduced to only a small village on the borders of the lake, which in length and depth is the greatest of all the lakes in this country. When, by a lucky accident, Dost Muhammad Khán, son of Núr Mu-

hammad Khán Afghán, of the tribe of Warakzaí Mírzái Khaíl,[1] came from Roh to the country of Hindústán, he met at Jalálábád his relatives, who were the descendants of the same ancestors When Almighty God wishes to raise one of his creatures to some great rank in this world or the next, He first throws him into difficulties and troubles, and after that exalts his dignity in order that he may estimate its true merits. And so it happened that a misunderstanding arose between the brothers, and that Khán of noble disposition, alone, and without any means of subsistence, left Jalálábád, and went to the province of Málwá. By his judicious plans and great exertions, he took possession of several parts of this province, and at a most auspicious moment, in the fifth year of Muhammad Sháh's reign, corresponding to A H. 1135 (1723 A D), laid the foundation of the city of Bhopál Under his just rule the lion and goat drank water at the same pool He was so generous that even Hátim would envy him A great number of saints always dined with him

When the fame of his virtues reached the ear of the ministers of the Emperor's court, he was favoured by His Majesty, through Saiyid Husain 'Alí Khán, with a *mansab, túmán, togh*, kettle-drums, *naubat*, as well as a title But he died

After this event the eldest son of the noble Khán, who was with Nizámu-l Mulk in the province of the Dakhin, arrived in this territory, and at a most auspicious time sat upon the *masnad*, administered justice, subjugated a great number of the refractory chiefs, and by his wise measures the country from the banks of the Nerbadda to the vicinity of the town of Sironj, was brought under his power Notwithstanding that the enemy, having gained great dominion, infested the country from Sattárá-garh to the suburbs of Dehlí, yet under the good management of this equitable chief the people of his territory were perfectly secure from the ravages of the tyrants For his surpassing courage and wise administration of the country he received great favours from the throne, and was honoured with the rank

[1] Malcolm calls it "the Miraju Kheil"—*Central India*, vol i p 350

of 5000 personal and 5000 horse, together with the insignia of *Máhi* and *Maratib*

Twenty-first Year of the Reign

As above stated, contention, disaffection, and discord broke out among the nobles, and the report of the enemy's success was noised abroad The cursed infidels, encouraged by the misrule and carelessness of the sovereign, particularly by the hostility and revolt of the very ministers of the throne, had become predominant throughout all the country Thus incited, the Emperor of Írán, by name Nádir Sháh, who, having acquired entire power over that country, had reached up to Balkh and Kandahár, now marched in this direction, with the design of conquering Hindústán, and, as some say, at the suggestion of Nizámu-l Mulk and Sa'ádat Khán It was suddenly reported to the Emperor that Nádir Sháh, having invaded Kábul, and obliged Násir Khan, the governor of the province, to join him, had crossed the Attock and reached Láhore The Governor of this city also, after a slight show of resistance, had gone over to him Notwithstanding all this, the careless Emperor and the ungrateful nobles, having covered their faces with the veil of gross negligence, were awaiting the approaching misfortune After the invader had marched past Láhore, the Emperor of Hindústán was compelled to fit out an army All this delay, which occasioned the subsequent disasters, arose from the Emperor's not confiding in the counsel of any of his ministers Whatever plan was suggested by the Khan-daurán was opposed by Nizámu-l Mulk, and *vice versá*

According to the statement of Mir Fakhru-d dín, the Emperor of this country, having prepared for war with two hundred thousand horse, foot soldiers without number, fifteen hundred elephants, and many field-pieces and other guns, left Dehlí with the intention of expelling the Emperor of Írán The army of Hindústán, owing to its immense numbers, which amounted to

ten hundred thousand, both horse and foot, could scarcely find space to encamp on. Towards the end of the month of Zí-l ka'da, the army encamped near the town of Karnál, and, as some say, according to the advice of Nizámu-l Mulk, was placed all round in the shape of a ring Notwithstanding this, the soldiers of Írán made attacks from all sides upon the Indians, and carried off corn, grass, and wood, which are essentially necessary for the maintenance of man Hence the price of grain was enormously high in the camp Burhánu-l Mulk, one morning, at the beginning of Zí-l hijja, entered the camp to pay his respects to the Emperor. He had scarcely arrived, when it was reported that twenty thousand horse of Nádir Sháh's army had plundered all his camp, equipage, and baggage Burhánu-l Mulk instantly took his leave, beat the drums of battle, and went after the plunderers It is said that the whole army of Nádir Sháh amounted to fifty-five thousand fighting horsemen, skilful in the art of war and murder, while others make it amount to three hundred thousand horse

No sooner had *Amíru-l umará* Khán-daurán heard that Burhánu-l Mulk had gone, than he also, without making any due preparation, went to the field with a force which amounted, according to some, to seven thousand, and according to others, to twenty thousand horse Burhánu-l Mulk, a short time after the armies had engaged, was taken prisoner and carried before Nádir Sháh That nobleman, renouncing his dependence upon the will of God, and acting according to the dictates of his own choice, precipitated matters, but Providence discomfited all his plans After the capture of Burhánu-l Mulk, the army of Nádir Sháh surrounded *Amíru-l umará* on all sides, and began to shoot their arrows and fire their guns, and the battle raged till the close of the day The Indian warriors, *saiyids*, *shaikhs*, Afgháns, and Rájpúts, so fought with their cruel swords that, had Rustam and Afrásiyáb lived to this time, their livers would have become water at the sight of this dreadful battle The Íránís, dreading the swords of these brave men, left the field, and, firing their guns

from a distance and from different quarters, made heaps of the corpses of Indians, who preferred death to flight

At last the great luminary of the world set in the west, and with the approach of night darkness spread over the earth, yet up to this time no army came to reinforce *Amiru-l umará*, all through the connivance of Nizámu-l Mulk, who, with the utmost animosity towards the followers of Islam, always held out encouragement to infidels and tyrants. It is said that five thousand men on the side of *Amiru-l umara* met with the honour of martyrdom, among whom were Muzaffar Khán, his brother, Mír Kallu, 'Alí Hámid Khán, Yádgár Khán, Lodí Khán, and other nobles In the evening *Amiru-l umara*, with a few of his men, returned from the field to his tent, wounded and sorrowful The next day he set in array a new army, with the intention of hazarding another battle, and defeating Nádir Sháh, who had trembled at the courage displayed. But the *Amir* fell, and drank the cup of martyrdom

It is said that when Burhánu-l Mulk fell into the hands of Nádir Sháh, the Sháh inquired from him all the particulars of this Government He was informed in reply that Khán-daurán, who had fought with him that day, was only one of the servants of the Emperor of Hindústán, and that, like him, there were many other nobles and Rájas, possessed of great power and much courage, in his camp as well as in all parts of the kingdom, and that any one of them was well able to cope with him He recommended him, therefore, to receive something on account of his travelling expenses, and return to his own country Nádir Sháh was confounded to hear this, and peace was determined on

Muhammad Sháh, by the advice of Nizámu-l Mulk, rode to the tent of Nádir Sháh, whose son came to receive him The Prince, according to his father's orders, sat below the throne, like an attendant After the interview, Muhammad Sháh dined and returned to his tent

On the same day Nizámu-l Mulk with his usual impudence, put on the official dress of the *Amiru-l umara*, which had been

promised to Burhánu-l Mulk, who, on being informed of this, under the impulse of ambition, represented to Nádir Sháh, that *Amíru-l umará* Khán-daurán deceased was the only person of importance in the government, and that now there was no man in the kingdom equal to him in power or dignity, that Nádir Sháh should contrive to take Muhammad Sháh prisoner, and make himself master of the country. Having no regard for gratitude, deluded by the base avarice of this world, and having no shame even for contradicting his own words, he occasioned the general slaughter and great contentions and disasters which ensued. Nádir Sháh, having called Nizámu-l Mulk, placed him in custody, and constrained him to send for the Emperor That wanderer in the forest of envy and malice, without considering what might be the result, wrote a letter under his own hand to the effect that he had settled the terms of peace, and the confirmation of it depended upon his coming The heedless Emperor, being deceived by that artful person, rode to the tent of Nádir Sháh, who ordered the few persons who had gone with the Emperor to be turned out, and the Emperor, with Nizámu-l Mulk, Amír Khán, Is'hák Khán, Jáwed Khán, Bihroz Khán, and Jawáhir Khán, to be placed in confinement Some of his myrmidons were sent to I'timádu-d daula Kamru-d dín Khán, and forcibly brought him out of his tent into Nádir Sháh's camp. At the same time, officers of the Sháh were placed as guards on all the offices and establishments of Muhammad Sháh It is said that Fath 'Alí Khán, son of Sábit Khán, and 'Alí Amjid Khán, escaped, and went in safety to their houses Khán-i zamán Khán, also, escaped after changing his clothes

The next day, according to Nádir Sháh's orders, Burhánu-l Mulk[1] and 'Azímu-llah Khán went to Sháh-Jahánábád, for the purpose of establishing his rule Though all these ungrateful persons, through their ambition, had adhered much to the interests of Nádir Sháh, yet, as Providence had destined that the sovereignty of the House of Tímúr should be preserved, and

[1] [" Nádir Sháh appointed Burhánu-l Mulk *Wakíl-i mutlak*"—*Bayan-i Wakí*]

Muhammad Sháh's reign prolonged, they in the end gained nothing but shame and disgrace.

Afterwards, Nádir Sháh himself, with the Emperor of Hindústán, entered the fort of Dehlí. It is said that he appointed a place on one side in the fort for the residence of Muhammad Sháh and his dependents, and on the other side he chose the Díwan-i Khás, or, as some say, the Garden of Hayát Bakhsh, for his own accommodation. He sent to the Emperor of Hindústán, as to a prisoner, some food and wine from his own table. One Friday his own name was read in the *khutba*, but on the next he ordered Muhammad Sháh's name to be read. It is related that one day a rumour spread in the city that Nádir Sháh had been slain in the fort. This produced a general confusion, and the people of the city destroyed five thousand[1] men of his camp. On hearing of this, Nádir Sháh came of the fort, sat in the golden *masjid* which was built by Roshanu-d daula, and gave orders for a general massacre. For nine hours an indiscriminate slaughter of all and of every degree was committed. It is said that the number of those who were slain amounted to one hundred thousand.[2] The losses and calamities of the people of Dehlí were exceedingly great. * *

After this violence and cruelty, Nádir Sháh collected immense riches,[3] which he began to send to his country laden on elephants and camels. Muhammad Sháh witnessed with the utmost emotion and indignation these outrages of Nádir Sháh, which were occasioned by the rivalry of the disaffected nobles. It is narrated, that one day Nádir Sháh, in his public court, spoke some harsh and abusive words to Nizámu-l Mulk and Burhánu-l Mulk, and threatened them with punishment. When they left the court, Nizámu-l Mulk, with all the lying and fraud to which he was naturally habituated, spoke to Burhánu-l Mulk some very soft

[1] [" Without doubt nearly 8000 Persians fell victims."—*Bayan-i Wakí*.]

[2] [' It was found by inquiry from the *kotwal* of the city that nearly 20,000 men must have been massacred."—*Bayán-i Wakí*.]

[3] [' It is probable that the plunder amounted to about eighty *kιors* of rupees."—*Bayan-i Wakí*.]

and heart-rending words, and told him that it would now be difficult to escape the hands of that tyrant; he advised that they both should at the same moment go home, and, taking a cup of deadly poison, pursue the path to death, and sacrifice their lives to their honour After this, that chief of deceivers went to his house, and, having expressed his will to his relations, and drunk a cup of water mixed with sugar, covered himself with a sheet and went to sleep Burhanu-l Mulk, who was a true soldier, and was not aware of his perfidy, as soon as he heard this, drank a cup of poison, and went to the next world.

The Sháh of Írán, after having brought so many disasters and calamities upon Hindústán, presented to the Emperor of that country seven horses of 'Irák, several trays of jewels and cloths, instilled into him some precepts useful to Emperors, granted *khil'ats* to the ministers of the throne, and, having left Dehlí on the 7th of Safar, returned to his own country He proceeded through the territory of Sind, and having taken a large contribution from its chief, who was of the tribe of Bhattí, went to Kandahár It is said that after the departure of Nádir Sháh, the chiefs and Rájas of all parts of Hindústán sent large sums of money to Muhammad Sháh, together with horses, elephants and other property of various kinds

TWENTY-SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN.

Two *krors* of rupees and three hundred elephants were sent to His Majesty by Shujá'u-d daula, governor of the province of Bengal After Nádir Sháh had gone away, Amír Khán was raised to the rank of 7000 and the office of third *bakhshi*, and Is'hák Khán to the *diwani* of the *khalsa* They were also received into the favour of the Emperor, on which account Nizámu-l Mulk, again having recourse to his fox-like habits, and being displeased, left Dehlí He spent some days at the village of Tilpat, and at last, with the advice of Mihr-parwar,

the grandmother of the Emperor, and on condition that Amír Khán should come out to meet him, returned to the city

Amír Khán son of Amír Khán senior, one of the chief nobles, was appointed Governor of the province of Allháhábád, where he applied himself to the work of administration.

A body of Játs from Mahában, having raised their heads in rebellion, put Hakím Kázim, the *Faujdár* of the *pargana* of Fírozábád, to death, and carried off all his property and treasure The chief of these insurgents proclaimed that he had assumed the name of Wántar Sháh, and more than 5000 men having flocked round him, he raised great tumult and alarm Zahíru-d daula 'Azímu-llah Khán went against him with a body of 6000 horse, and having made an end of him, determined to cross the Chambal, proceed to the territory of Bhadáwar, and place Ráj Singh, son of Amrat Singh, on the *masnad* of that principality But on account of the river being too full, he could not cross it, and returned to Dehlí

An army of more than 100,000 Mahratta horse attacked Násir Jang, son of Nizámu-l Mulk He, unlike his father, who always assisted the enemy, was the most virtuous man of his time, and possessed great courage and humanity They burnt villages in the environs of the city of Aurangábád Upon which Násir Jang equipped an army, which some say did not exceed 8000 horse, and sallied out from the city Násir Jang fought very bravely, and despatched a great number of the enemy to hell, so that, not being able to stand their ground, they took to flight Násir Jang pursued them, and at the distance of a few *kos*, the enemy again made a stand, when the Musulmáns put a great number of them to the sword By the favour of Almighty God the enemy again fled, and Bájí Ráo, chief of the miscreants was greatly surprised at the courage of that lion of the field of heroism With great ignominy and shame, he stopped on the banks of the Nerbadda, and as the Mahrattas had suffered great loss in the battle with Násir Jang, they turned towards Hindústán, in the hope of ravaging that country, because

they had been informed that, although they themselves had before now reached to the very suburbs of Dehlí, and so many ravages had been committed by Nádir Sháh, yet the Emperor was still equally as negligent and indifferent as ever With this idea they gladly crossed the Nerbadda. Malhárjí, Pílújí, and other chiefs of the enemy's army, which, according to some, was no less than 50,000 horse, came through Bundelkhand as far as the banks of the Jumna, but suddenly, on hearing that Bájí Ráo, having fallen into the claws of death, had gone to the deserts of hell, they returned, without accomplishing anything, towards Sattárá-garh to meet Rája Sáhú.

Raghú, nephew of Rája Sáhú, at the head of 80,000 horse, fought with Násir Jang, to avenge the defeat of Bájí Ráo. Násir Jang in this battle also gave a complete repulse to the infidel enemy

One of the nobles, by name Shujá'u-d daula, who was a very good man, and governed the province of Bengal with the utmost justice, died a natural death As he was a great protector of his subjects, and exceedingly just, the country, by virtue of these qualities, flourished greatly, and the revenue had so much increased that every year he sent two *krors* of rupees to the Emperor, besides which, thirty thousand horse and an immense body of infantry received their pay from him He also sent thousands of presents to the saints in all parts of the country and cities. The Emperor Muhammad Sháh, and the ministers of the throne, having shut up the path of justice, and stretching out the hand of rapacity upon the subjects, devoted themselves to amassing wealth, which at last all fell to the lot of the enemy, and there was even a deficiency in the fixed revenue of the *khalsa*

TWENTY-THIRD YEAR OF THE REIGN

Zahíru-d daula 'Azímu-llah Khán, being appointed to the governorship of Málwá, went to the territory of Bhadáwar, and having taken five *lacs* of rupees as a contribution from Ráj Singh,

son of Rája Antrat Singh, raised him to the *masnad* of that principality He then proceeded to Datiá, where he came to an understanding with its chief, and took seven *lacs* of rupees from him in return for the renewal of his *jágírs* From that he went to U'rchha, and spent some days in fighting and squabbling with the Rája As he acted contrary to the rule of the former governors, who, after securing the satisfaction and alliances of all the Rájas who were the servants of the Emperor, applied themselves to the government of the province, he could not even enter the territory to which he was appointed, through fear of the enemy He passed some time in quarrelling with these Rájas, and then returned.

Mírza Mannu, son of I'timádu-d daula Kamru-d dín Khán, was appointed to the governorship of Ajmír, and he went to that place with two thousand horse. Although the Rájas had acquired great ascendency in that part of the country, so that in the city of Ajmír, where the sepulchre of the Great Khwája stands, the slaughtering of cows and other practices of Islám were prohibited, yet he stayed there only for one day, and, according to the orders of his father, who had instructed him to act in subordination to Rája Jai Singh, he leased the governorship of the province to him, and returned to Dehlí

When Nizámu-l Mulk A'saf Jáh was informed that his son Násir Jang had by his firmness obtained great advantages and victories over the enemy, who fled from before his name like a crow before a bow, that Islám had obtained a new lustre, that the allowances of the many officers and soldiers under him were fixed according to each man's worth, and that he had introduced peace and tranquillity among his subjects,—the fire of ambition and of a desire to assist the wretched enemy, which he had always felt, was rekindled in him Having obtained leave from the Emperor, he marched with great haste towards the Dakhin, and arrived in a very short space of time at the banks of the Nerbadda As he had but a very little force with him, he received a reinforcement of one thousand horse from

Yár Muhammad Khán, who ruled over the greater part of the province of Málwá. Having crossed the river, he stopped for some time in the city of Burhánpúr, where a dispute arose between the father and son At last, the latter, who, independent of being sensible and learned, was very dutiful, and a much better man than his father and ancestors, notwithstanding that he had possessed so much influence and power, voluntarily, out of respect to the rights of his father, resigned all concern in the affairs of government, and sat at the gate of the sacred shrine of saint Zainu-l Mulk, where also the remains of Sháh 'Álamgír (Aurangzeb) are interred As he was a very wise man, had been disgusted with worldly pursuits, and had much regard for works of religion, he withdrew his hand from the pollutions of this world, and attended to the excellences of the next

Nizámu-l Mulk, who had become old, was so much entangled in the allurements of this unprofitable world, that, although from the time of 'Álamgír to the present he had seen how faithless it had proved to a great number of its followers, yet, through his avarice and ambition, he discouraged his excellent son, and still seeks to injure him, notwithstanding that he must well know the world to be nothing and its votaries nothing.

XCII

TÁRÍKH-I NÁDIRU-Z ZAMÁNÍ

OF

KHUSHHÁL CHAND

THE author of this work was Khushhál Chand, a writer in the *díwání* office of Dehlí, in the time of Muhammad Sháh His father, Jíwan Rám, held various employments in the time of Aurangzeb and Bahádur Sháh He was at first in the service of Rúhu-llah Khán and Bahramand Khán, and when Shaikh 'Atáu-llah was appointed intelligencer and *bakhshí* of Láhore, Jíwan Rám was made his *peshkár* After leaving Láhore, he was appointed deputy superintendent of the *díwání* office at Dehlí, and in the time of Bahadur Sháh was raised to the rank of 150 As he was a poet, he presented several copies of verses to the Emperor, for which he received a reward of two hundred rupees He died in the year 1164 A H

The eldest son, Khúb Chand, succeeded to his father's office, and Khushhál Chand also obtained employment in the *díwání* office, with which he expresses himself well satisfied, "as it enabled him to fulfil the duties of both this world and the next" In compliment to the Emperor under whom he was employed, he calls his work *Táríkh-i Muhammad-Sháhí*, to which he gives also the honorific title of *Nádiru-z Zamání*, "the wonder of the world," as it contains, in combination with another word, the date of composition—1152 A H (1739-40 A D), but the history is carried down a few years later

The *Nádiru-z Zamání* is divided into two volumes, one called the *Majma'u-l Akhbárát*, the other *Zubdatu-l Akhbárát*, each

divided into two books Independent of the historical matter, the work contains treatises on arithmetic, astrology, palmistry, versification and other irrelevant matters.

The second volume will form the subject of a future notice.[1] The first, or *Majma'u-l Akhbárát,* is appropriated as below.

CONTENTS

Book I Account of the wise and religious persons, from the Creation to the time of Muhammad Sháh Ancestors of Muhammad Sháh up to 'Umar Shaikh Mírzá, father of the Emperor Bábar. A brief account of the governments of Arabia, Persia, Turkistán, Túrán, Rúm, Shám, and Írán, from the era of Kaiumárs to the time of Naushírwán A brief account of the Ghaznivides, Ghorians, Saljúkians, and other dynasties.

Book II History of India from Rája Judishtar's reign to the time of Ibráhím Lodí. Account of some of the most celebrated saints of India, such as Mu'ínu-d dín Chishtí, Kutbu-l Aktáb, and others, and of the reformers of the Hindú religion, such as Rámánand, Kabír, Raidás, and Nának, with a notice of the Shástras and Vedántism

Size.—The first Book contains 331 large 8vo pages of 19 lines each

The first volume contains nothing of interest The only useful part of the work is the history of Muhammad Sháh

The *Nadiru-z Zamani* is very rare The late *Sadru-s Sudur* of Mainpúrí had a perfect copy, which his heirs have lost, and Nawáb 'Alí Muhammad Khán of Jhajjar has a very imperfect copy, deficient in the second books of both volumes. The Nawáb of Tonk has the first book Wilken[2] quotes an Indian History of this name in the Berlin Library, but I cannot trace the quoted passage in the portions of the work available to me.

[1] [There is no such notice among the papers, nor any copy of the work in the library]

[2] Mirchondi Historia Gasnevidarum, p 264

XCIII

JAUHAR-I SAMSÁM

OF

MUHAMMAD MUHSIN SÁDIKÍ

[THE author of this work, Muhammad Muhsin Sádikí, son of Haníf, was, according to his own statement, enrolled in the corps of *Wála-sháhís* His work extends from the death of Aurangzeb to the departure of Nádir Sháh from India on the 7th Safar, 1152 A H (9th May, 1739 A D) The early part of the work is very brief and summary, and the history really begins with the reign of Farrukh Siyar It is written in a very ambitious extravagant style, with a great tendency to exaggeration. He tells us, for instance, that Nádir Sháh's army consisted of "two *lacs* of *Kazalbash* horsemen," and he makes a long and horrible story out of the deposition and murder of Farrukh Siyar He states that he was induced to write the work at the "earnest entreaty of Shaikh 'Aláu-d dín, an old and constant associate of *Amíru-l umara* Samsámu-d daula in all his military exploits, who related all the particulars to him, and frequently urged him to compose a connected narrative of them" The work was no doubt named after Samsámu-d daula, who plays a conspicuous part in the history According to his own statement, our author grew tired of his work, and resolved "not to furnish historical details respecting any more vain-hearted and ambitious princes after he had described the general massacre caused by Nádir, but he was subsequently persuaded by his spiritual instructor, Sháh Badr-i 'Álam, to write a tolerably full account of them"

The whole work has been well translated for Sir H. M. Elliot by the late Major Fuller, with the exception of many pages of empty rhetorical flourishes From that translation this notice has been compiled and the following Extracts have been taken]

EXTRACTS.

(After the death of *Amíru-l umará* Husain 'Alí Khán), the Emperor Muhammad Sháh never came out of the citadel of Dehlí except to enjoy the pleasures of an excursion or to amuse himself in field sports He paid no attention to the administration of the kingdom, which lacked all supreme authority, and through his indolence, unrelieved by any exertion, he fell and came to an end For water even, notwithstanding its innate purity and excellence, if it remains stagnant anywhere, changes its colour and smell The Government of the country went so completely out of the grasp of his will that the *faujdars* of every *sarkár* and *chakla*, and the *subadars* of every city and province, who possessed the strong arm of a military force, refused to pay the revenue due on *khalsa* and *jagir* lands They used to send merely gifts and presents to their lord and master, after the manner of friends and equals, but put the produce of the *jágirs* of the *mansabdars*, and the amount collected from the Imperial domains (*khálsa*), like food easy of digestion, down their own throats. The proud and haughty of every region raised their heads in contumacy, and the rebellious and refractory of every land fixed the bent of their inclinations on revolt and disobedience Hosts upon hosts of the execrable Mahrattas brought forcibly under their subjection the territory of the Dakhin and the provinces of Gujarát and Málwá, and raised the banner of subjugation to such a pitch as to pillage and lay waste the cities, town, and villages around Ágra and Dehlí, and to leave the good name and property of none, whether high or low, unmolested An incursion of the vile forces of the enemy to the outskirts of Dehlí and Ágra took place regularly every year, and, exclusive of the booty of populous towns, they used to carry

off by force and violence forty or fifty *lacs* worth of property from the open country, insomuch that the rumour of the instability of the royal house of Hind, having reached the lords and commons of all quarters of the globe, Nádir of Isfahán invaded it with his troops resembling the waves of the sea, and put all the natives of the provinces of Kábul, the Panjáb and Dehlí at once to the sword.

(When Muhammad Sháh was in the field against Nádir Sháh), Sa'du-d dín Khán Bahádur, *dárogha* of the sublime artillery, planted an iron fortress as it were all around the royal camp, which was five *parasangs* in circumference, by chaining together the heavy pieces of ordnance (most of which required 500 bullocks for the drawing of their carriages, and some a thousand or more, as well as five or ten elephants to push each gun from behind, exclusive of the people attached to every one, who by their expert contrivances pass it with ease over rugged and difficult places), and the medium and light guns, which exceeded the limit of computation, and were beyond the power of reckoning * *

The heavy shower of arrows, and the hail-storm of bullets, with the violent pelting of their fall, caused the torrent of death to sweep away the fabric of a multitude of living forms, and despatched to the sea of perdition a whole host of the ever-victorious army under the command of *Amíru-l umara* Samsámu-d daula, successful in both worlds His Majesty, the shadow of the Most High, on learning the frightful news of the superior prowess of the ferocious *Kazalbashis*, was about to despatch a suitable force to the aid and support of that choice favourite at the Court of the Omnipotent, but through Fath Jang Nizámu-l Mulk's opposition, the august and sublime intention was not carried into effect * * 'Abdu-l Ma'búd Khán addressed the following remarks to Ásaf Jáh Nizámu-l Mulk "The *Amíru-l umara* Khán-daurán Bahádur is so influential a person, that if the evil eye fall on the stability of his army, it will be the cause of dispersion to the leaves of the volume of the State, and a reason of

slipping to the feet of resolution among the servants of the Government. Therefore the duty of aiding and supporting such a high-minded and faithful individual is proper and incumbent on all; and from feelings of generosity and good sense I have an ardent desire for the accomplishment of the task" * * As this black night had come out of the darkness of Fath Jang's animosity, in accordance with the will of the Almighty, how could the first blush of the bright dawn of safety and security and the disc of the brilliant sun of victory show its face without the removal of its raven tresses? Fath Jang laid his hand on the arm of the warrior, and did not let it go until by divers arguments he had dissuaded him from his fixed determination, while the latter, the chosen of the Adored, writhed in the depths of anguish, and bit the lip of remorse with the teeth of helplessness

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In consequence of the death of *Amiru-l umara* Samsámu d daula, the robe of the office of *Mir Bakhshi* was bestowed on Ghāzíu-d dín Khán, son of Fath-Jang Nizámu-l Mulk. The fire of animosity, that had been somewhat allayed, immediately kindled afresh into flames, because Bahádur Jang Burhánu-l Mulk, from the first dawn of his prosperity till the closing calamity of his career, had entertained the desire of obtaining the dignity of *Amiru-l umara*, and having waited for his opportunity a long time, had kept sowing this wish in the field of his heart.[1] As he had fully expected to have his hopes realized on the death of the late incumbent, he had deemed it expedient to keep on good terms with the Emperor, but on hearing that another had been invested with the coveted robe, he swerved from the path of conciliation, and girded the waist of cunning more tightly than before in hastening along the road of enmity The image of peace that had been reflected in the glass of exhibition had been changed to war, and the broken chain of friendship was spliced with the cord of contention.

[1] The metaphor in the original is much more elaborate

XCIV

TAZKIRA

OF

ÁNAND RÁM MUKHLIS

[No account of this book has been found among Sir H M Elliot's papers, and there is no copy of the work in his library The following translation, by "Lt Perkins," must therefore speak for itself It was made from a MS belonging to Nawáb Ziau-d din The author was an eye-witness of much that passed during Nádir Sháh's stay in India, and suffered from his exactions A memorandum on the translation states that it is "not complete," but still the work seems to have been specially devoted to Nádir Sháh's invasion It begins with a chapter headed "History of the wonderful events that came to pass in Hindústán in the year of the Hijra 1151," which contains an account of Nádir Shah's rise and of the beginning of his march towards India This chapter and a few other passages have been omitted The last words of the translation have been printed, but there is nothing to indicate whether they end the book or not]

EXTRACTS

March of the Emperor of Persia to Hindustán, and the consequent slaughter and devastation in that beautiful land

Strange events occurred after the capture of Kandahár Before setting out from Ispahán, Nádir Sháh had despatched a messenger, named 'Alí Mardán Khán, to Hindústán, with full powers to arrange with Muhammad Sháh, the ruler of the land, certain matters of a nature peculiar to troublous times, and such as it

becomes Emperors to settle amicably with one another Nádir Sháh reached Kandahár; but Muhammad Sháh, it is probable, broke faith, and did not fulfil his promises, although a second messenger, named Muhammad Khán Turkomán, was sent to him, this messenger moreover never returned. The train had long been laid, and from these negociations sprang the spark that fired it Nádir Sháh was moved to anger, he resolved on the invasion of Hindústán, but though the apparent motive has been given above, the true cause was the weakness of its monarchy Accordingly, on the 8th of Safar, in the twentieth year of Muhammad Sháh's reign, A H 1150, the Persian Emperor set his face towards Kábul, where he arrived about the end of the month * *

The settlement of the conquered territory occupied the Emperor for four months and a half. The march was then continued to Jalálábád, a place famous for its pomegranates, which was reached on the 14th of Sha'bán Násir Khán, son of the late Násir Khán, governor of the province, who during these events had been at Peshâwar, moved from this town and occupied a position half-way between 'Alí Masjid and Jamrúd, which place is distant nine *kos* from Peshâwar, to oppose the invader's progress

Násir Khán had often written to Muhammad Sháh concerning the want of money, but none of his representations had been attended to He now wrote to the effect that he himself was but as a rose-bush withered by the blasts of autumn, while his soldiery were no more than a faded pageant, ill-provided and without spirit, he begged that, of the five years' salary due to him, one year's salary might be paid, that he might satisfy his creditors and have some little money at his command The Nawáb Sáhib, however, exclaimed before the assembled *díwán*, that he could see no need for all this haste and flurry, "had he not written on the subject to the Emperor and the *Wakalat-panah*, and, if the matter was not settled that day, why it would be so the next?" The *Wakalat-panáh*, when he laid the document before the *Amír u-l*

umará Bahádur, and told him, with fear and trembling, in the Persian language, what had occurred in Kábul, received an answer which drove him to his wits' end, "Know you not, *Wakálat-panah*," said the personage addressed, "that I am a man of too great experience to be caught by such stories that are only made up to extort gold? My house is in the plain, and my imagination dwells only on what my eyes have seen Your house is on a mountain, and perhaps from its summit you have caught a glimpse of the Persian host Tell your employer that the governor of Bengal has been ordered to remit treasure after the rainy season, and the necessary sums will then be sent to him without delay"

The Afghans of Kábul, particularly those of the Sáfí tribe, defended the mountain passes, and for a long time checked the advance of the *Kazalbash* invaders If at that time a well-appointed army, under an experienced leader, had been sent to the support of the mountaineers, it is more than probable that Hindustán would have been saved As it was, the enemy, ever on the watch to take advantage of any negligence on the part of their opponents, stole a march on the Afghans during the night of the 13th of Sha'bán, entered the Khaibar Pass while the stars still shone above their heads, and, moving with the rapidity of the wind, fell suddenly on the force of Násir Khán, when a scene of slaughter and plunder ensued * *

Nádir Sháh was now in possession of all the country as far as Attock, and Muhammad Sháh and his advisers could no longer remain blind to the danger that threatened them They understood at length that this was no ordinary foe against whom they had to contend, no mere plunderer who would be sated with the spoil of a province and then return to his own country, but a leader of unshakeable resolution, who shaped his course with the sword If, even at this juncture, the Emperor had sought to conciliate Nawáb Sáhib A'azzu-d daula Bahádur, *Nazim* of Multán and Láhore, and had supplied this fierce chieftain with the sinews of war as such an emergency required, then indeed

might the world have witnessed a very different result. As it was, when the Emperor learned from the news-writers the advance of the Persian army to Attock, he, on the 1st of the blessed month of Ramazán, appointed Ásaf Jáh Bahádur *Wakilu-s Saltanat*, I'timádu-d daula Chín Bahádur *Wazíru-l Mamalik*, and *Amíru-l umara Bahadur* to be *Bakhshí'u-l Mamalik*, for the defence of the monarchy, and with his own hands bound on the heads of the chiefs a *malaband* of Burhánpúr workmanship. That same day these noblemen left the city for their camp, which was pitched near the Shálamár gardens. They received one *kror* of rupees in cash, and cannon and munitions of war in abundance. Besides their own troops, 50,000 horsemen were given to them. Now was the time for these chiefs to have marched without delay, and, acting in concert with the *Názim* of Multán and Láhore, whose troops amounted to no less than 20,000 bold horsemen, to have advanced to the banks of the Jhelam or Chináb, and have closed the roads and passes against the invader by skilful dispositions and by force of arms. Instead of this, the army remained a whole month encamped near the Shálamár gardens, detained by sundry petty causes which I cannot detail.

Nádir Sháh, after Násir Khán's defeat, had entered Peshawar, where he occupied the residence of the Khán. Having settled the affairs of this district he marched, on the 25th of Ramazán, towards Attock, where the army encamped on the fifth day. The construction of a bridge here caused inevitable delay, but Áká Muhammad was detached with a strong force to devastate the country, and leave no means of destruction untried. A'azzu-d daula might now have displayed the same indifference as his royal master, but, far from this, he drew together a number of troops at vast expense to himself, and on the 17th of Ramazán formed his camp on the banks of the Rávi. Not being at liberty to move forward until joined by the Emperor's army, he contented himself with placing his cannon in the best positions, and throwing up entrenchments round his camp.

On the 4th of Shawwál the Persian army crossed the Attock river on a bridge of boats On the 8th the Emperor reached the left bank of the Chináb river, and on the 9th encamped close to the bridge of Sháh-daula[1]

But how to relate the ruin and desolation that overwhelmed this beautiful country! Wazírábád, Ímanábád, and Gujarát, towns which, for population, might almost be called cities, were levelled with the earth Nothing was respected, no sort of violence remained unpractised, property of all kinds became the spoil of the plunderer, and women the prey of the ravisher

On the 10th of Shawwál the Sháh and his army crossed the bridge of Sháh-daula, then, leaving far to the left the artillery of the *Nazim*, which was in position along the opposite bank of the Rávi, they forded the river and advanced to the Shálamár gardens, which are on the high road to Sháh-Jahánábád All that day, from morn till night, the contest was maintained against the army of the *Nazim*, who repeatedly tried to force his way back to the town The bravest warriors put forth their strength and many of the *Kazalbashis* fell Yahya Khán, the eldest son of the *Nazim*, cut his way through with a few followers, and proceeding towards Sháh-Jahanábád by forced marches, reached the camp of Nawáb Sáhib *Wazir-u-l Mamálik Bahadur* in the vicinity of Pánipat The fighting was renewed on the 11th, and the plain was strewed with the slain

Both armies were now worn out with the struggle, and it was found advisable to make terms On the 12th, the *Nazim* was met by the illustrious Wazír 'Abdu-l Bákí, and conducted into the presence of the Sháh, the greatest honour and respect being shown him He was courteously received and presented with a *chaplan* of gold brocade, a jewelled dagger and a horse The *Nazim* again repaired to the presence of the Sháh on the 14th, and paid, by way of offering, a sum of twenty *lacs* of rupees, a portion of which had been taken from the state coffers, and the remainder contributed by the wealthiest inhabitants.

[1] A most wonderful march!

He then departed in all honour By this payment Láhore was saved from horrors among which death and spoliation were the least. The Sháh, who was full of kindness for the *Názim* (A'azzu-d daula), took into his service his second son, Hayátu-llah Khán Bahádur, and appointed him to the command of five hundred horse

On the 15th of the month the Sháh continued his march towards Sháh-Jahánábád He advanced rapidly Leaving his camp equipage at Sháhábád, on the 15th of Zí-l ka'da he appeared in the neighbourhood of Karnál, where Muhammad Sháh's army awaited his coming But it is now time to return to Muhammad Sháh, lest the thread of the narrative should be broken

Muhammad Shah leaves the Capital

It has already been shown how Ásaf Jáh Bahádur, *Waziru-l mamalik Bahadur* and *Amíru-l Umará Bahadur*, the officers to whom had been entrusted the responsibility of leading an army against the Persian invaders, remained for a whole month encamped near the Shálamár gardens When tidings came that Nádir Sháh had reached the banks of the Attock river, the commanders urged upon the Emperor the necessity of his joining them in person, and, with one accord, they moved forward in the early days of Shawwál The author himself, Ánand Rám, accompanied by his beloved sons Rái Kripá Rám and Saláh Fath Singh, left the capital on the 11th of the month, in the service of *Nawáb Sáhib Waziru-l Mamalik Bahadur*[1] When the army reached Pánípat, the author obtained leave to revisit his home, where some private affairs required his presence. Starting on the 17th, he reached Sháh-Jahánábád on the evening of the 20th

On the 18th of the month Muhammad Sháh, and the illustrious Prince Ahmad issued from the citadel *(ark)*, the royal residence, and encamped near Muhammad Ganj The

[1] [See *suprà*, p 79]

royal camp reached Pánípat on the 27th, when the commanders paid their respects to His Majesty, and made offerings suited to their rank

Near Karnál flows through a broad plain a canal which issues from the Jumna river, near Mukhlispúr, and continues its course to Sháh-Jahánábád This place was found convenient for the encampment of the army. By degrees news was received of the progress of the enemy It was therefore resolved to advance no further, but to take advantage of the abundant supply of water, so necessary to the soldier, and fight to the last The *Mir-atish* was instructed to construct an earthen wall around the camp, behind this the artillery was placed in position, and brave men were told off for the defence of the intrenchments In fact, nothing was omitted that could conduce to the strength of the camp This disposition, which could hardly be considered worthy of an Emperor, was adopted partly to await the arrival of *Burhanu-l Mulk Bahadur, Nazim* of Oudh, who had been ordered to join the royal army This nobleman, though suffering from sickness, advanced by forced marches at the head of 30,000 horsemen, and reached Karnál on the 14th of Zí-l ka'da This addition to the strength of the army created universal joy, and all now thought victory certain

Battle between the Persians and the Mughals

Burhánu-l Mulk, after his interview with His Majesty on the 14th, the day of his arrival, had been dismissed to his own tents News was at this time brought to him that a Persian force had fallen upon his baggage, which was coming up in the rear from Pánipat, and had plundered it, and committed great slaughter Burhánu-l Mulk, with headlong impetuosity, misplaced in a commander, flew to the scene of action, accompanied only by the few horsemen who were with him, without taking time to collect his artillery, or to form his men in any kind of order Soon he was engaged in the thick of the fight, nor did he desist from his

efforts until he had scattered the Persians The latter, experienced in every kind of stratagem, the acquiring of which indeed forms part of the soldier's training, fled in apparent confusion, followed by the *Názim*, who was thus led into an ambush where stood the Persian advanced guard with a powerful artillery The armies engaged, and the shouts of the combatants and the clashing of sabres ascended to the heavens

Muhammad Sháh, hearing of what was going on, ordered *Amíru-l umará* to reinforce the *Názim* The *Amír* represented that the army had not expected a fight that day, and that the soldiers were consequently quite unprepared, reinforcements could but add to the severity of the defeat It was far better to delay a battle until the morrow, when the army could be disposed according to the rules of war, with advanced and rear guards, and their artillery, on which everything depended in Indian warfare, could be placed in the front[1] The struggle would then be one of comparative ease, and a little skill would insure an easy victory The monarch was displeased with these objections, and addressed the *Amír* as a "conceited idler" But *Amíru-l umará* Bahádur was a chieftain who had the good of his master at heart, never had he been guilty of aught like disobedience, and now, arming himself and mounting an elephant, he gathered round him Muzaffar Khán Bahádur and a few horsemen, all that could be collected in that hour of bewilderment, and hastened to the support of the *Názim* The struggle raged so fiercely that firearms and arrows were put aside, and swords and daggers were brought into play Blood flowed from gaping wounds and crimsoned the combatants, the red *Kazalbash* caps had the appearance of poppies, a dense smoke hung over the field of battle

The heroic efforts of *Amíru-l umará* and his prodigies of valour could not prevail against the Persians, who far exceeded the Indians in number, and had, moreover, the advantage of having been placed in position by the Sháh himself The Mughals broke

[1] ["It is probable that if the army of Hindustán had been fully provided with artillery, the Persians would not have been able to oppose it —*Baydn-i Wakí*]

at length and fled, but *Amíru-l umara* maintained the combat until, mortally wounded in the face, he fell covered with glory. His brother, Muzaffar Khán, his son Muhtaram Khán, Alí Hámid Khán his *koka*, and some others stood by him to the last. Burhánu-l Mulk and Nisár Muhammad Khán Bahádur became prisoners. The remainder of the followers of *Amíru-l umara*, headed by Rái Majlis Rái *Mír-sáman*, closed round their master's elephant, resolved to extricate him or to perish. They reached the *Amír's* tents by evening. This nobleman's wounds were mortal, and he lived but one day longer. God have mercy on him![1] By his decease, Ásaf Jáh Bahádur became *Mír-bakhshí*. Officers were sent by the Emperor's order to seize the property of the late nobleman, which it would have been more generous to leave to the heirs.

Had the Emperor himself led his powerful army to the support of Burhánu-l Mulk, there would have been no cause to lament the loss of such a *sardar* as *Amíru-l umara*, and who can say that victory might not have smiled on his arms?

The consequences of this disaster were lamentable, for the loss of baggage and the great scarcity of supplies that soon prevailed (four rupees could hardly purchase a *ser* of flour) totally deprived the soldiery of the little spirit they ever possessed. The Persian Emperor sent a message offering to treat for peace, for though so powerful, he was not one to overlook the advantages of negociation.[1] *Wazíru-l mamalik* Ásaf Jáh was opposed to the proposition, but his arguments did not prevail on the Emperor. On the 16th of the month Ásaf Jáh Bahadur and 'Azímu-llah Khan Bahádur were deputed to the Shah, to conclude the negociations; they returned to camp that evening.

The next day Muhammad Shah repaired in person to the Persian camp. The monarch took with him a small escort

[1] [The Persians were alarmed at what they had seen of the fighting and bravery displayed by the soldiers of Hindustan, who had resisted the balls from *jazails* by arrows from bows, and they thought that if, notwithstanding the want of artillery, the Indians had shown so much courage, what would they do now that the Emperor with all his artillery was ready for action."—*Bayan-i Waki'*]

'Umdatu-l Mulk Amír Khán Bahádur, Mu'tamadu-d daula Muhammad Is'hák Khán Bahádur, Bihroz Khán, and Jáwed Khán, were among the number Nasru-llah Mirzá, the Sháh's son, received His Majesty at the limits of the camp When they drew near, the Sháh himself came forth, and the etiquette usual between the Persian and Mughal courts was faithfully observed. The two monarchs, holding one another by the hand, entered the audience-tents, and seated themselves side by side on a *masnad* It was as if two suns had risen in the East, or as if two bright moons shed their light at one time ' As Muhammad Sháh was unaccompanied by any one of his chiefs, the subject of conversation between the two Emperors has remained unknown After this had lasted some time, a repast was prepared, the remains of which were given to Amír Khán Bahádur and the other noblemen Nothing that courtesy and friendship require was omitted during the whole conference, which lasted a quarter of the day, and Muhammad Sháh regained his camp about the third quarter of the day These proceedings restored tranquillity to the minds of the soldiery, all looked forward with joy to renewed plenty, to a return to their beloved Sháh-Jahánábad and the society of friends, but fate smiled at these fond hopes, for more suffering, more bloodshed awaited them

The author has already related how he obtained leave to visit Sháh-Jahánábád, and left the army for this purpose when it had reached Pánípat The Emperor had taken his departure from the town the day before the writer reached it Strange to relate, numbers of people of every degree followed the royal standards Some thought thus to enjoy a pleasant excursion through the Panjáb, while others were of opinion that a battle would be fought and won in the neighbourhood of the town, and that their absence would only be of short duration The writer sought in vain for a house within the walls in which to place his wife and family, he could find no suitable one Under these circumstances, he resolved to leave his family in their usual residence outside the town The security of the entrances to the lane was looked to, and armed

servants above the ordinary number were entertained. The author now prepared to return to the army, and sent on his advanced tents.

But just at this time a report spread through the city of the death of *Amiru-l umará* and the capture of Burhánu-l Mulk Many were the false reports circulated, which there is no need to record here, and such was the state of the town that, but for the vigilance of Kotwál Hájí Fúlád Khán, it must have been plundered, and the Persian army would have found the work done The *kotwal*, no ordinary man, was at his post day and night, his exertions were unceasing, and, wherever there was an appearance of sedition, he seized and punished the guilty parties The roads were infested with malefactors, and there was safety for none.

Having received certain tidings of the Persians having formed a circle around the royal army, and rendered ingress to the camp impossible, the author was compelled to relinquish his design of proceeding thither He therefore turned his attention to his means of defence Sentries were placed, and the *darogha* and the writer himself patrolled the *bázárs* at night to collect news A supply of lead, powder, and rockets was laid in, and distributed among the people of the quarter, who began to take heart Thus the nights were spent in watching, and the days in the society of friends This state of things continued until the arrival of Burhánu-l Mulk Bahádur and Tahmásp Khán Jaláir, the latter the representative of the Persian Sháh

Muhammad Shah's second visit to the Sháh Entry of the two monarchs into Shah-Jahanabad

The result of Muhammad Sháh's visit to the Persian Emperor has been seen Some days later, on the 24th of the month, Ásaf Jáh was deputed to finally settle sundry matters, but, through some unknown cause, this personage failed in his mission, and was detained in the camp Muhammad Sháh

himself, neglecting the remonstrances of a few well-wishers who advised a further appeal to arms, then paid a second visit to the Persian Emperor on the 26th Muhammad Sháh, as a result of this interview, found it advisable to continue in the Persian camp, and ordered a part of the royal camp equipage to be brought. This was accordingly done By degrees all the chief nobles of the State joined His Majesty To all appearance they acted according to their inclination, but in truth under compulsion *Nasakchis* were ordered to be in attendance on them, these in reality were but spies on their actions. How strange are the freaks of fortune! Here was an army of 100,000 bold and well-equipped horsemen, held as it were in captivity, and all the resources of the Emperor and his grandees at the disposal of the *Kazalbash*! The Mughal monarchy appeared to all to be at an end

A proclamation was issued to the army that all might depart who chose, as His Majesty himself was about to return to Sháh-Jahánábád The soldiers and camp followers now departed in crowds, and, with the exception of the chief dignitaries, and a few of lesser rank, who would have thought it a crime to abandon their master at such a time, the Emperor remained alone Tahmásp Khán Jaláir *Wakilu-s Saltanat*, Burhánu-l Mulk Bahádur, and 'Azímu-llah Khán Bahádur, were sent in advance by the Sháh to have the fort prepared for his reception, and to settle various other matters

When the Sháh's camp equipage arrived from Sháhábád, the two Emperors set out They made the journey seated together on an elevated car. Muhammad Sháh entered the citadel (*ark*) of Sháh-Jahánábád in great pomp on the 8th of Zí-l hijja, seated in his car, the conqueror followed on the 9th mounted on a horse. By a strange cast of the dice two monarchs who, but a short while before, found the limits of an empire too narrow to contain them both, were now dwellers within the same four walls!

The next day Nádir Sháh returned the Indian ruler's visit, and accepted the presents offered by the latter. When the Sháh

departed, towards the close of the day, a false rumour was spread through the town that he had been severely wounded by a shot from a matchlock,[1] and thus were sown the seeds from which murder and rapine were to spring The bad characters within the town collected in great bodies, and, without distinction, commenced the work of plunder and destruction A discharge of firearms and other missiles was continued throughout the night The darkness of the night and the difficulty of recognizing friend or foe were the cause of numbers of the *Kazalbashis* being slain in the narrow lanes of the town Scarce a spot but was stained with their blood

On the morning of the 11th an order went forth from the Persian Emperor for the slaughter of the inhabitants The result may be imagined, one moment seemed to have sufficed for universal destruction The *Chandni chauk*, the fruit market, the *Daribah bazar*, and the buildings around the *Masjid-i Jama'* were set fire to and reduced to ashes The inhabitants, one and all, were slaughtered Here and there some opposition was offered, but in most places people were butchered unresistingly The Persians laid violent hands on everything and everybody, cloth, jewels, dishes of gold and silver, were acceptable spoil

The author beheld these horrors from his mansion, situated in the *Wakilpura Muhalla* outside the city, resolved to fight to the last if necessary, and with the help of God to fall at least with honour[2] But, the Lord be praised, the work of destruction did not extend beyond the above-named parts of the capital Since the days of Hazrat Sáhib-kirán Amír Tímúr, who captured Dehlí and ordered the inhabitants to be massacred, up to the present time, A H 1151, a period of 348 years, the capital had been free from such visitations The ruin in which its beautiful streets and buildings were now involved was such that the labour of years could alone restore the town to its former state of grandeur.

[1] ["Discharged by one of the female guards of the Imperial *harem*"—*Jauhar*, *Samsam*]

[2] What concerns the author alone has been a good deal abbreviated from the text

But to return to the miserable inhabitants. The massacre lasted half the day, when the Persian Emperor ordered Hájí Fúlád Khán, the *kotwal*, to proceed through the streets accompanied by a body of Persian *nasakchis*, and proclaim an order for the soldiers to desist from carnage.[1] By degrees the violence of the flames subsided, but the bloodshed, the devastation, and the ruin of families were irreparable. For a long time the streets remained strewn with corpses, as the walks of a garden with dead flowers and leaves. The town was reduced to ashes, and had the appearance of a plain consumed with fire. All the regal jewels and property and the contents of the treasury were seized by the Persian conqueror in the citadel. He thus became possessed of treasure to the amount of sixty *lacs* of rupees and several thousand *ashrafis*, plate of gold to the value of one *kror* of rupees, and the jewels, many of which were unrivalled in beauty by any in the world, were valued at about fifty *krors*. The Peacock throne[2] alone, constructed at great pains in the reign of Sháh Jahán, had cost one *kror* of rupees. Elephants, horses, and precious stuffs, whatever pleased the conqueror's eye, more indeed than can be enumerated, became his spoil. In short, the accumulated wealth of 348 years changed masters in a moment.

Nawab Sahib Waziru-l mamalik[3] contributed thirty *lacs* of rupees, besides elephants and his most valuable jewels. Nawáb A'saf Jáh also suffered an equal loss. The property of Burhánu-l Mulk, who had died shortly after the arrival of the Persians, was likewise seized. It amounted to about a *kror* of rupees, and had been brought from Oudh.

On the 26th of Zí-l hijja was celebrated, with great pomp, the marriage of Násir Mirzá, son of the Persian Emperor, to a

1 ["Upon the solicitations of His Majesty Muhammad Sháh, they ceased shedding the blood of the innocent."—*Bayán-i Wakí'*.]

2 ["His Majesty bestowed on Nádir Sháh, with his own munificent hand, as a parting present, the Peacock throne, in which was set a ruby upwards of a *girih* (three fingers' breadth) in width, and nearly two in length, which was commonly called *khiráj-i 'álam*, "tribute of the world."—*Jauhar-i Samsám*.]

3 [See *supra*, p. 79.]

daughter of Murád Bakhsh, third son of his late Majesty Sháh Jahán. The ruler of Hindústán presented the bridegroom with a dress of honour, a necklace of pearls, a *sighah* and a dagger set with pearls, and an elephant with trappings of gold

On the 1st of Muharram, A H 1152 (30th March, 1739), writers were appointed to levy ransom from the inhabitants under the orders of Tahmásp Khán *Wakilu-s Saltanat*, and lay it before the Sháh, but, in order that the inhabitants might not be completely ruined, nobles of both States were directed to superintend the settlement of the ransom in the hall of justice, where all might be spectators The town now offered a strange spectacle Emissaries of the *kotwal* and Persian *nasakchis* wandered from house to house and from street to street, to take inventories of the property, and enforce the appearance of the citizens, so that the sum to be contributed by each individual might be fixed according to his means It was the wish of the Sháh that the townspeople should be preserved from violence and treated with lenity. * * Unoffending people, high and low, rich and poor, were compelled day after day to appear in the hall of justice, where they were kept from morn till night, often later, and then departed, speculating in their wretchedness on what the morrow might bring forth, and wondering to find themselves still alive Mír Wáris and Khwája Rahmatu-llah openly, and two other persons in secret, had conspired to effect their destruction, and acted as delators Without ever arriving at the truth, their calumnies were accepted as such They forgot that they would reap what they sowed, feared neither God nor man, and maltreated the people.

The inventory was now ready It appeared from this that the contributions of the capital would amount to two *krors* The Sháh, therefore, appointed Ásaf Jáh, *Wazíru-l mamalik*, 'Azímu-llah Khan, Sarbuland Khán, Mubárizu-l Mulk, and Murtazá Khán to collect the money Five divisions were made of all the city, and lists of the different *muhallas*, with their inhabitants, and the contributions to be levied from each were prepared and given to the above-named *amirs*.

Now commenced the work of spoliation, watered by the tears of the people. By Nawáb Ásaf Jáh Bahádur and Nawáb Sáhib *Wazíru-l mamálik*, but especially by the latter, who contributed a great part of the money himself, the collections were made in the most humane manner, but where the other three noblemen presided, and more particularly in the division of Mubárizu-l Mamálik, the sufferings of the citizens knew no bounds Not only was their money taken, but whole families were ruined Many swallowed poison, and others ended their woes with the stab of a knife The author, whose house was in the division allotted to Mubárizu-l Mamálik, endured great persecution.[1]

Compact made by Muhammad Shah with Nádir Shah

At a former epoch, the Monarch of the Universe and Emperor of Emperors, the Asylum of Islám, whose throne is that of Alexander, and whose court the heavens, the most noble and exalted sovereign, Nádir Sháh (may his kingdom endure for ever!), found it necessary to send ambassadors to transact certain affairs with the officials of this suppliant in the court of heaven[2] We, at that time, consented to all the demands made of us, but when, at a subsequent period, Muhammad Khán Turkomán was deputed from Kandahár to recall these matters to our memory, the officers charged with the administration of this realm failed to comply with the demands of the great Emperor, and thus sowed the seeds of contention At length the Persian army crossed the frontiers of Hindústán, and the forces of the two monarchies met in battle on the plains of Karnál A great victory signalized the prowess of the Persian warriors But as the illustrious Emperor, the head of the Turkomán tribes, and fount of manly virtues, treated us with kindness, we felt honoured by his friendship, which made our court the envy of Iram, and pro-

[1] I have here omitted 16 pages, which relate solely to the author's sufferings Five *lacs* were extorted from him

[2] Muhammad Sháh

ceeded in his company to Sháh-Jahánábád, where we offered for his acceptance all the treasures, jewels, and precious things of Hind The great Emperor, complying with our request, placed a portion of our offerings within the circle of his acceptance, and, moved by the feelings of friendship, natural to the similarity of our origin and position, and by a just consideration of the favour due by a Turkomán to a descendant of the Gúrgánís, gave into our charge the crown and seals of the realm of Hindústán In return for this liberality, surpassing indeed the kindness of a father to his son, or of brother to brother, all the countries about Sind, westward of the rivers Attock and Sind, and of the Sanjar stream, which flows from the latter, namely Peshávar, Bangishát, the country of Kábul, Ghaznín and the Kohistán, Hazárát, the fortress of Bhakkar and Sakhar, Khudábád and Láyagáon, the Derаját with the Bulúch and other populations, the province of Thattá, the fortress of Ráhima, the city of Badín, the *parganas* of Chún, Samwál, Kehrán, and all other *parganas* dependent on the harbours, with all forts, villages and cultivated lands, *parganas* and ports from the source of the river Attock, the Bakarnáchak pass, and the numerous branches of the river near Thattá, to where the river Sind and the Sind and Singarh rivulets flow into the ocean, together with whatever of any kind is the produce of lands watered by the river Attock and its branches, and that may lie westward of the river Sind and the Singarh rivulet, all these have we detached from our dominions, and annexed to those of Persia Henceforth the officers of that powerful State shall collect the revenue and exercise all authority in the aforesaid countries, and the people, great and small, dwellers in towns and in plains, tillers of the soil, men of every degree, shall be subject to their laws, and the ministers of this eternal government shall no longer have sway among them But the fortress of Dáwar, the cities of Túhari and Bindráwach, and all the countries eastward of the rivers Attock and Sind and the Singarh rivulet, these remain attached to the kingdom of Hind

Muhammad Sháh's third visit to the Sovereign of Persia, and departure of the latter

On the 29th of Muharram the glory of the realms of Hind proceeded to partake of an entertainment given by the ruler of Írán A quarter of the day passed in rejoicings A hundred and one pieces of cloth, within which were precious objects from foreign countries, and several trays of jewels, offered by the Sháh, were accepted by the royal visitor, who then took his departure All the nobles in the regal suite, to the number of nearly one hundred, received presents suited to their rank This festival was not without its object, for the Sháh had resolved to return to his own dominions This was as yet secret, but on the 6th of Safar the *Mulla-báshi*, standing at the door of his august master's residence, with a loud voice made the following proclamation —

"Soldiers, the King of Kings and Lord of beneficence, our master, the protector of the world, conquered the country of Hindústan and restored it To-morrow our victorious banners move towards 'Irák. Be you prepared!"

On the morrow the Sháh rode forth from the citadel, and pitched his camp near the Shálamár gardens, five *kos* from the town, and once more the government of Hindústán devolved on Muhammad Sháh On the 8th of the month 'Abdu-l Bákí Khán, and Hayátu-llah Khán, son of the *Nawáb Názim* A'azzu-d daula, were sent to Láhore with an order directing the latter to collect and forward a contribution of one *kror* of rupees The messengers, travelling with rapidity, reached Láhore on the 21st of the same month They were met by the *Nawab Názim* in the Shálamár gardens Hence they continued their way in company to the city The illustrious messenger here met with the kindest and most courteous reception, and the friendship already existing between the noble entertainer and his guest was much increased Through the exertions of Kifáyat Khán the demand for a *kror* of

rupees was modified, and a sum of twenty *lacs* taken in addition to the former contribution [1]

Tidings having been brought of the Sháh's arrival at Chakgard, a place thirty *kos* from Láhore, on the banks of the Rávi, across which a bridge of boats had been formed, the *Nawáb Sáhib Názim* and 'Abdu-l Bákí Khán set out to meet His Persian Majesty on the 27th of Safar On the 3rd of Rabí'u-l awwal, the monarch crossed the river at the above-named spot, and formed his camp on the right bank The *Nawab Názim* and his companion entered the camp that same day, and were admitted to the presence The *Nazim* met with great courtesy, and was honoured with several presents, besides these the Sháh conferred on him the *farman* of the *Nizamat* of Multán (Saifu-d daula Bahádur, the late *Názim*, was dead), to which His Majesty had caused to be affixed the seal of Muhammad Sháh Dresses of honour and Arabian horses were given to Khwája 'Abdu-llah Khán, second son of the late Saifu-d daula, to Khwája Hayátu-llah Khán, and to the other chiefs in the *Nazim*'s suite * *

On the 9th of Rabí'u-l awwal the Sháh's camp was at Kalúwál, a village on the banks of the Chináb, the largest river of the Panjáb A heavy fall of rain, such as is usual in the rainy season, had occurred the previous night, and the bridge had been broken, some of the boats being swamped, and others knocked to pieces The river's width had so increased that it was impossible to reconstruct a bridge at this point, but a narrower part was found near the village of Akhánúr, where a bridge was formed by means of iron cables On the 11th the *Nazim* received fresh proofs of the Sháh's generosity

The Persian camp broke up from Kalúwál on the 14th, and commenced crossing the river at Akhánúr A portion of the army had effected its passage, when the force of the swollen and pent-up stream carried away the bridge with a deafening roar, and hurled two thousand *Kazalbashis* into a watery grave But as the Sháh was anxious to cross the river, he proceeded him-

[1] This passage is doubtful

self, mounted on Mahá-sundar, the powerful elephant that had been bestowed on the *Nawáb Názim*, in search of a ford, or some spot suited to the formation of a bridge. However, it is vain to struggle against destiny, and His Majesty failed in the object of his search, and it was consequently decided that the army should be ferried over in boats at Kalúwál The camp was therefore moved on the 25th, and the passage was commenced By the 2nd Rabí'u-s sání, three quarters of the army and baggage had been landed on the opposite bank, and on the following day the *Názim* was permitted to depart, his own sword being returned to him, and his elephant to Hayátu-llah The *Názim* and his son reached Siálkot the same day The Persian Emperor, who entertained a great affection for the *Nawab Názim*, directed an epistle to be prepared and forwarded to the ruler of Hind, desiring His Majesty to increase the allowances and the body of horse of this chieftain from seven to eight thousand The districts of Gujarát, Siálkot, Púrsarúr, and Aurangábád, from which was derived the expenditure of Kábul and Pesháwar, also Dángalí and other places, producing about four *krors* of *dams*, and constituting the *jagír* of Násir Khán, *Názim* of Kábul, some districts forming the *zamíndarís* of Khudá-yár Khán 'Abbásí, and of Ghází Khán Dudahí, *zamíndar* of Multán, all of which are east of the Attock river, and had been for three years made over to Nádir Sháh, these were now placed under the charge of the *Názim*, subject to a yearly payment of twenty *lacs* of rupees. The *Názim* was at first loath to enter into this arrangement, but several considerations induced him The chief of these was that if this matter were not thus settled, the Sháh would leave an army in the country, which would be the cause of numerous evils On the 7th of the month the Sháh himself crossed the river, and encamped on the right bank, the move being made known to all by discharges of cannon

The Sháh felt the greatest anxiety to reach Khurásán, where his presence was urgently required to put a stop to disturbances that had broken out in Bukhárá and Khwárizm, for the rulers of

these countries, blinded with pride and ignorance, had withdrawn their necks from the yoke of subjection Proceeding without a halt, the Sháh crossed the river Attock on the 21st of Jumáda-s sání, and on the 25th of Sha'bán cast his shadow over the country of Kábul Hence he marched by way of Darah Isma'íl Hút to correct Khudá-yár Khán 'Abbásí, *zamindár* of Khud-ábád Having made Hút and Ghází Khán Dudahí obedient, he remained some time in the government of Bhakkar

Before leaving Kábul, the Nawáb Sáhib A'azzu-d daula and Hayátu-llah Khán Bahádur, who governed the province of Multán as his father's deputy, had been directed to join the Sháh whenever his army should enter the territories of Khudá-yár Khán, and to assist in settling the affairs of that district Hayátu-llah Khán lost no time in joining the Sháh and the *Názim*, starting on the 26th of Shawwál from the fortress of Jamún, which had fallen to his arms only a few days before, passed one night at Láhore On the 23rd of Zí-l hijja he left Multán to proceed towards the Persian camp by water

Copy of the Shah's Letter above mentioned

To the exalted and most noble of Kháns, the illustrious Zakariyá Khán, *Názim* of the provinces of Láhore and Multán, with assurances of our warmest friendship, be it known that, whereas His Majesty has resolved to make a tour this year through the country of Sind, in order to chastise certain rebellious chieftains in those parts, and whereas it is deemed probable that one or more of these chiefs may attempt to fly towards Multán, which would render it necessary for the conquering army to cross the river Sind, to pursue and capture the fugitives, and whereas between this powerful government and that of Hindústán there exists perfect concord, it is necessary that the illustrious *Názim* should be prepared to move from Láhore towards Multán on receiving an order to this effect, and with his troops guard the approaches to this city, that those who

may cross the river may be punished, and such energy displayed for this purpose as may render unnecessary the co-operation of the royal forces In addition the Khán may rest assured of the kindly feelings of the Emperor of Emperors towards him, and may expect everything from his generosity. Written on the 21st of Jumáda-s sání, A H 1152

Entry of Nádir Shah into the territories of Khudá-yár Khán

Of all the frontier-chiefs none equalled Khudá-yár Khán in the extent of their possessions, the number of their soldiers, and the fertility of their resources When first Nádir Sháh arrived under the walls of Kandahár, this chieftain formed vain schemes of checking the advance of the victorious army and holding the passes, thus, as if impelled by fatality, making an enemy to himself of a monarch favoured by fortune, whose sword, like the orb of light, had flashed over the world from east to west Now, that the tidings of the Sháh's advance broke upon his dream of fancied security, he left his son in command of his troops, and himself, with his women and wealth, withdrew into the fortress of Amarkot, a strong place, surrounded on two sides by water and on the other two by sand-hills

When the Sháh's army drew near, the son gave up all idea of fighting, and prepared to do homage to the Emperor on condition that his father should not be required to appear, but these terms were not acceded to, and the foolish youth was kept prisoner The Sháh again moved rapidly forward to lay siege to Amarkot, and the news of this advance shook, as if with the shock of an earthquake, the warlike resolve of Khudá-yár Khán He immediately sent away his women and his property to the sandy country, but stayed behind himself to make arrangements for the removal of twenty-two *lacs* of rupees, for which carriage had not been procurable, and determined to follow on the morrow

But the morrow brought forth unexpected events, for the Sháh, learning that the game might still be secured by a bold cast of the net, pushed forward from Ládgáon, distant from

Amarkot thirty *farsakhs*, on the evening of the 28th of Zi-l ka'da, and suddenly surrounded the fort about daybreak on the following morning. Immediately the soldiery commenced the work of destruction. Khudá-yár Khán, seeing no path open to escape, came forth with cries for mercy, and did homage; and this course, which he should have before adopted, proved his salvation. The Sháh, mindful of the maxim that there are more joys in forgiving than in punishing, received him with kindness, and forgave his faults The twenty-two *lacs* found in the fort and some jewels were seized by the Emperor's officers, and the Sháh returned to Ládgáon, where the camp equipage had been left, and where were discussed the affairs of Khudá-yár Khán, who had accompanied His Majesty since his surrender

About two hours before the close of day His Majesty received A'azzu-d daula in the royal audience tent This nobleman was treated with even more than former courtesy, and the Emperor graciously observed that he must have been put to much inconvenience in so long a journey On the 7th the Nawáb Názim received tokens of the esteem in which he was held by the Sháh * *

Khudá-yár Khán 'Abbásí, since his submission, had remained in the royal camp The monarch now, with kingly munificence, raised him from the dust and re-established him in possession of his *zamindari*, with the title of Sháh Kulí Khán, and the government of the province of Thattá The conditions of this arrangement were an annual payment of ten *lacs* of rupees and the furnishing to the Persian monarch of a contingent of two thousand horse under one of the Khán's sons. The Khán, who might have expected a very different treatment as the result of his conduct, was dismissed with the present of a horse to his home on the 15th of Muharram, A H 1152 (12th April, 1739 A D)

Nádir Sháh, having finally settled the affairs of Hindústán, resolved to set his face towards the country of Khurásán, where frequent disturbances occurred, acting as a thorn in his side.

XCV.

NÁDIR-NÁMA

OF

MIRZÁ MUHAMMAD MAHDÍ

THIS history is the production of Mirzá Muhammad Mahdí of Mázandarán, who attended Nádir Sháh as confidential secretary in all his military expeditions The character of this detailed history is generally eulogistic, but as the author survived his master, and has not omitted to recount the mad actions committed by Nádir Sháh in the latter period of his life, faith may be generally placed in his relation of the events of this period The *Nadir-náma* was translated into French by Sir W Jones at the desire of the King of Denmark, and is therefore well known to European students Another name which this work bears is *Táríkh-i Jahán-kushai*, but as that name is generally appropriated to the valuable history of the Mughals by 'Aláu-d dín Malik 'Atá Malik Juwainí (No IX, Vol II p 384), it will save confusion not to give the title to the *Nadir-náma*

The life of Nádir by Mr Fraser, who availed himself of contemporary records in India, and the works of Jonas Hanway, afford the English reader all the information he can desire on the subject of this tyrant

SIZE—8vo, 688 pages of 15 lines each

XCVI

TAHMÁSP-NÁMA

OF

MISKÍN

THIS is an autobiographical piece giving an interesting account of several occurrences during the downfall of the Empire It bears very much the same character as the *Bayán-i Walí'* of 'Abdu-l Karím The author is careless about dates, but they can easily be supplied by the light which other historians, European and Asiatic, shed upon the transactions he records There seems reason to suppose that the author's name was Tahmásp, to which he added the literary name of Miskín The text, however, is not very plain on this subject The title of the work may perhaps be derived from the name assumed by Nádir Sháh on his entering the service of Sháh Tahmásp

SIZE —Large 8vo, 314 pages of 17 lines each

XCVII

BAHRU-T TAWÁRÍKH

This unique, but worthless, "Sea of Histories," comprises accounts of the Asiatic monarchies The volume is an autograph, in the library of the Nawáb of Tonk, with many marginal notes, also apparently in the handwriting of the author, containing some additional information on the meagre histories in the text

As the preface to the first book is not contained within this volume, we are left in ignorance of the author's name, object and authorities He was most probably an Indian, as he deals at disproportionate length with the History of India, which, however, is carried down only to the reign of Jahángír. It is evident that the volume is imperfect in this portion, and that all that follows in the book, as at present bound, originally belonged to the first volume, which begins just as the second volume closes, with an imperfect sentence From his history of the Emperors of Turkey, it appears that the author visited Mecca on a pilgrimage in the year 1160 A H (1747 A D), which is all that we learn of him in the course of the work As the second book contains a short preface, which was wanting in the first, the ignorant binder has given it the precedence, and thus transposed the proper order

From this preface we learn that the second book was commenced in the year 1099 A H (1687-8), a date which might be open to doubt, were it not twice repeated in the preface, in which also several other corresponding dates are given confirmative of this. The work is, nevertheless, carried down beyond the time of Nádir Sháh's invasion of India, and the date of 1154 A H. (1741 A D) is twice distinctly quoted towards the end

These passages, as well as the marginal notes, may have been added by some other hand, but there is an appearance of uniformity about the work which does not appear to warrant this inference, and we are therefore led to the conclusion, that the author lived to an old age, and was engaged upon the revision of this work for more than half a century The passage, moreover, in which the writer states that he visited Mecca in 1160 A H, seems evidently written by the same person who wrote the beginning of the volume. This compilation is divided into detached chapters, one being devoted to each separate dynasty, and the disregard of order is of course chiefly attributable to the mistake in the binding.

CONTENTS

Second Book —Preface, pp 1 to 3—Turks, early Mughals and Kará-khitáians, pp. 3 to 15—Ghorian Dynasties, pp 16 to 26 —Kings of Kirt, Khwárizm, Chángíz Khán and his descendants, pp 26 to 90—Tímúr and his descendants, pp 90 to 122—Sultáns of Hindústán, pp 123 to 165.

First Book — Hindí and Muhammadan Doctrines of the Creation, pp 165 to 208—Muhammad and the twelve Imáms, pp 208 to 290—Kings of 'Ajam, Arabia, Abyssinia, Rúm, Egypt, the Popes and Khalífas, etc, etc, pp 291 to 490—Sámánís, Ghaznivides, Buwaihides, Saljúks, Atábaks, etc, pp 490 to 694—Safavians, Nádir Sháh, and Sultáns of Rúm, pp 695 to 745

Size—8vo., 745 pages of 11 lines each Including marginal notes, these mean an average of about 13 lines to a page

The *Bahru-t Tawaríkh* offers nothing worthy of Extract.

XCVIII

MUHAMMAD-NÁMA

This work was written according to the express orders of the Emperor Muhammad Sháh, by some dependent of Nawáb Mustafá Khán, surnamed Mustatáb Ján Bábá

SIZE—8vo, 280 pages of 17 lines each

XCIX

TÁRÍKH-I MUHAMMAD SHÁHÍ

OR

YÚSUF MUHAMMAD KHÁN.

This work is mentioned in the *Ma-ásiru-l umara* as one of the sources whence the materials of that valuable work were derived. The *Tarikh-i Chaghatai* (p 21 *supra*) and the *Tarikh-i Nadiru-z Zamani* (p 70 *suprà*) are sometimes called by this name.

There is no copy of either of these works among Sir H M Elliot's MSS. An Extract bearing the title of this last proves to be identical with the *Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirin*

C

TÁRÍKH-I AHMAD SHÁH

[THE Editor has been unable to discover either the exact title of this work or the name of the author There is no copy of the original MS in Sir H M Elliot's library, nor is the work to be found in the British Museum, in the Library of the India Office, or in that of the Royal Asiatic Society The following Extracts have been taken from a translation made by Mr. (now Sir) D Forsyth, and headed "History of Ahmad Sháh" It is a work of some length, and terminates abruptly about six months before the deposition of Ahmad in 1754 A H It begins with the following exordium]

EXTRACTS

The occurrence of all great events, which may not even have entered into the conception of the human mind, becomes clear and manifest at its own proper time, and in the list of extraordinary and unlooked-for events, may be mentioned the elevation of Ahmad Sháh, son of Muhammad Sháh, to the throne

And the history of these events is detailed as follows —

Muhammad Sháh had received from his ancestors, dominions of large extent, which they had by dint of prowess and successful exertion wrested from other illustrious Kings and annexed to the territories already under their rule But instead of being impressed with the importance of attending to the affairs of his kingdom, and turning his earnest attention as became an Emperor towards the management of the country, Muhammad Sháh, from the commencement of his reign, displayed the greatest carelessness in his government, spending all his time in sport and play This neglect on the part of the Sovereign was speedily taken advantage

of by all the *amírs* and nobles, who usurped possession of *súbas* and *parganas*, and appropriated to themselves the revenues of those provinces, which in former days were paid into the Royal treasury, and amounted to several *krors* of rupees. From these provinces not one farthing found its way into the Royal chest; but a small revenue was still derived from those few *khalsa parganas* which as yet remained faithful to their allegiance As the Royal treasury became gradually emptied, the Emperor's army was reduced to great straits, and at last entirely broken up, whilst the nobles of the land, who in the time of former sovereigns could never have got together such an amount of wealth, or so large a force, now amassed large sums of money from their own *jagírs*, and from those Government lands of which they had seized possession, and from the *jágírs* of others, a twentieth portion of which they did not give to the rightful owners. With this wealth they were able to keep up an immense army, with which the Emperor was unable to cope. Thus the Emperor found himself more circumscribed than his nobles, upon whom he, in fact, became dependent, and was unable to depose or displace any one of them

This state of things lasted till the period of Nádir Sháh's arrival in Hindústán, from Írán, about the year 1151 A H. As Muhammad Sháh had no means whatever of resistance, he was completely dependent upon his nobles, with whose forces he went out to meet Nádir Sháh But owing to the want of unity in all the councils and actions of the nobles, they were unable to effect anything like a stand against him, and soon were defeated by the enemy * *

The condition of the country after the departure of Nádir Sháh was worse than before The *amírs* took what they liked The Emperor spent what remained to him in sports and pastime He locked up his son, Ahmad Sháh, in one part of the citadel, not wishing him to appear in public. He kept him in the greatest indigence, and would not allow him to indulge in the game of *chaugan*, hunting, shooting, or any royal sports, such as he practised himself * *

First Durrání Invasion.

At the time (of Ahmad Afghán's first invasion) Muhammad Sháh was suffering from an attack of paralysis, and was not able to sit on horseback, but he ordered his chief nobles to set out and quell this rebellion on the frontier. For this purpose Kamru-d dín Khán *Nusrat Jang Wazíru-l Mamálik*, * * Safdar Jang *Mír-atish*, Sa'ádát Khán Bahádur *Zú-l fikár Jang*, third paymaster; Násir Khán Bahádur, and Rája Isrí Singh, *Zamíndar* of Amber and Jaipúr, with other nobles and *sardárs*, took their departure on the 18th of Muharram, in the thirtieth year of the reign In the space of fifteen days or so, this army had proceeded fifteen miles from Dehlí, when news came of Ahmad Afghán having reached Láhore with his force Also news came that Hayátu-llah Khán had guarded all the gates and streets, and had sent a force under Sadar Zilla Khán Kasúr Pathán to oppose him But Zilla Khán immediately went over to the enemy with his whole force, and Hayátu-llah Khán, seeing resistance no longer possible, fled, without striking a blow, and left all his property and treasure in Láhore. I'timádu-d daula wrote to the Emperor, representing that all the *sardárs* and nobles were declaring themselves independent, but that if the Emperor would send his son Prince Ahmad from Dehlí, to take charge of the army and to remain at its head, the war could easily be put an end to

Muhammad Sháh was most unwilling to part with any authority to his son, but being in great straits, and completely helpless, he sent for his son on the 19th of Safar, kissed him in open *Darbar*, gave him a copy of the Kurán and then dismissed him He would not give him any title or rank to assume, but provided a suitable *sawari* of elephants, horses, etc, and Sa'ádat Khán, his maternal uncle, was appointed his counsellor, that he might give him the best advice on all occasions The management of all war affairs was given over to I'timádu-d daula.

When the Royal army reached Máchíwára, the spies gave

information that Ahmad Afghán had reached Philor, which is about thirty miles from Máchíwára. The generals entered into deliberation, whether they should cross the Sutlej or not, but they came to the resolution not to do so, lest the enemy, avoiding an attack, should cross over at some other place. They therefore determined to remain where they were. They soon heard that the enemy had crossed at the ford near Lúdhiyána, which is about twenty miles distant from Máchíwára, and having laid waste the country round about the high road, was proceeding towards Sirhind As Ahmad Afghán carried on his person no signs of superior rank, Prince Ahmad was unable to learn whether he was with his army or behind, and fearing lest he should be in the rear, and suddenly fall on his army, he marched two or three miles a day along the river towards Lúdhiyána in search of the enemy He then heard that Ahmad Afghán had passed straight on to Sirhind with his force, and had set that city on fire, and got possession of the *wazír's* treasure When this intelligence reached Dehlí, the greatest consternation and dismay prevailed, and the inhabitants prepared to fly with their families * *

News was brought that Prince Ahmad, with I'timádu-d daula, had fallen back from the banks of the Sutlej and met with Ahmad Afghán's force about six miles from Sirhind, and had immediately erected batteries on four sides of his force The enemy also erected batteries on his side in the gardens of Sirhind A fire on both sides was opened on the 13th Rabí'u-l awwal, 1161 A H. (3rd March, 1748 A D), and many men were killed in both armies The firing continued for eight days, when Ahmad Afghán, seeing that this kind of warfare would never end, threw up a battery on a mound near the Prince's force, from which the guns threw their fire right into the Royal camp, passing over the batteries of his own army. Many members of the Royal army were killed The whole responsibility of the war rested upon I'timádu-d daula, and to him all the soldiers cried out to be led into a general action. But to this I'timádu-d daula would not consent, saying that the enemy would soon be ruined of himself

The soldiers therefore began to make themselves as secure as they could in the camp, when of a sudden, one day, Ahmad Afghán sent a camel, with melons, apples, etc., and a letter to the Prince, desiring peace, and stipulating that if the Emperor would leave him Kábul and Thattá, which Nádir Sháh had given him, and all the gold which Nádir Sháh had brought from Dehlí, he would evacuate the country.

The Prince sent this letter with the camel to Zú-l fikár Jang (Sa'ádat Khán), who forwarded it again to I'timádu-d daula. He sent an answer to Ahmad Afghán that he was to come and throw himself as a suppliant before the Prince, and do homage to him, and he would then endeavour to procure his pardon. Seeing from this advice that there was no hope of his stipulations being acceded to, Ahmad Afghán prepared for a general action, and on Friday, the 21st Rabí'u-l awwal, when three or four *gharis* of the day had passed—*i.e.* about eight o'clock A.M. —he opened fire from his guns. A ball from a cannon reached the tents of I'timádu-d daula Bahadur Nusrat Jang, and passing through them struck the *wazír* on his side, and, strange to say, all his attendants and followers, who were standing close around him, escaped unhurt. His son, Mu'ínu-l Mulk, was at the batteries at the time, and hearing of his father's accident, came to him at once in great distress, and found him just expiring. A minute or two after he died. * * In the mean time news arrived that Ahmad Afghán had got inside the intrenchment with his force, and was fighting there. Mu'ínu-l Mulk set out immediately to oppose the enemy's further progress, and this intelligence reached the Prince, Abú-l Mansúr Khán Bahádur (Safdar Jang), Rája Isrí Singh, and the other *sardárs*, who mounted their horses with the greatest expedition. * * They fought so well with the enemy, that with the greatest exertion, and a display of fiery zeal, they destroyed some thousands, defeated the Afghán army, and followed up the fight for one or two miles, slaughtering and wounding. * * The enemy, who had at that time lost half his force, was unable to withstand the

attack of Safdar Jang, and seeing a favourable opening, bore down on the right wing of the Royal army, which had been deserted by Isrí Singh. Safdar Jang, on hearing of the attack in this quarter, left Mu'ínu-l Mulk and came to the assistance of the Prince's portion of the army, and his force committed the greatest havoc Ahmad Afghán then fled with the remnant of his men, and taking shelter in a small fort, began to open a fire of cannon, and killed a number of men To attack this fort, several large guns were brought up, and planted ready, but night came on before any attack was made During the night Ahmad, seeing that it was useless to hold out any longer against the superior force of the Prince, who had gained a decided advantage, he silenced his guns, and under favour of the darkness fled, no one knew in what direction The Prince with his army remained under arms the whole night, and when morning came, they were surprised to find no trace of the enemy

The army remained in the same position till the 25th Rabí'u-l awwal, when messengers arrived from Ahmad Afghán bearing again the same proposals for peace, viz the cession of Kábul and Thattá, and the restoration of the money which Nádir Sháh had taken The Prince, however, would not listen to these terms

As the enemy was completely defeated, and all his forces totally routed, all messages for peace were merely sent as excuses to gain time so as to enable his treasure and baggage to be brought out from Sirhind * * When Ahmad Afghán saw that his object could not be gained by peaceable means, and that he could not get out his property from Sirhind, he came out on the 26th to offer battle again The Prince, too, came out to battle with all his forces The battle was carried on for some time with artillery only The enemy retreated before the superior force of the Prince, and Ahmad Afghán himself kept at a distance, viewing the two armies As the fire approached him, he avoided it and fled The artillery played the whole day, but ceased their

fire at eventide All that night the Prince's men stood to their arms. The next morning the battle was renewed on all sides, but the Afgháns could not gain the superiority. When two watches of the day had passed, Ahmad Afghán took the road to Lúdhiyána in flight, and sent a message through Safdar Jang to the Prince, that Muhammad Takí Khán was coming to make a treaty Safdar Jang, believing this to be true, withdrew his men from the pursuit, thus allowing the enemy time to withdraw all his property and treasure towards Lúdhiyána * * Orders were speedily issued for pursuit, and they were responded to with the greatest alacrity by the army, who followed up and slew all the stragglers, and those who were worn out with flight, of Ahmad's army, and took all the swords, horses, and camels they could find Whoever got the plunder was allowed to keep it for himself Many were made prisoners, and the number of horses, mules, etc., which were captured, was immense On the next day the army halted, and on the 29th Rabí'u-l awwal the Prince marched into Lúdhiyána, a distance of twenty miles * *

At that time Safdar Jang had the full command of the army, and no one could do anything without his orders To him the Prince gave his commands that they should march towards Láhore, to prevent the possibility of the enemy attempting to take that city after he had recruited his strength a little Safdar Jang did not agree to this plan, and endeavoured to delay by every kind of stratagem, and two or three days afterwards, having marched five or six *kos* from Lúdhiyána, he encamped, hoping that news might reach the Emperor of what was going on At last the Emperor consented that the Prince, Sa'ádat Khán Bahádur, and Safdar Jang should come back to Court, and that Mu'ínu-l Mulk and Násir Khán should march to Láhore and Kabul The Prince sent off his tents for Dehlí the next day, and on the evening of the 23rd he invested Mu'ínu-l Mulk with the command of the army, and sent him off towards Láhore On the 24th, having despatched Násir Khán towards Kábul, he set out himself in the morning

for Dehlí, and having reached his first stage, sent a letter to the Emperor, which reached his presence on the 26th Rabí'u-s sání Mu'ínu-l Mulk marched with his force stage by stage to Láhore

Death of Muhammad Shah and accession of Ahmad Sháh.

The Emperor was naturally of a weak constitution * * He was frequently subject to bad fevers, and at this time he was thus afflicted, when he one day was carried in a litter to the Masjid Sangi Gate, which was inside the fort, and there sat in state with all his nobles and attendants All of a sudden he fainted away * * He recovered a little from his fainting fit, * * but his speech had entirely left him Every moment the Emperor's illness changed its symptoms, and he was insensible during the whole night The next morning, on the 27th Rabí'u-s sání, in the thirty-first year of his reign, A H 1161 (15 April, 1748 A D), the Emperor breathed his last Those who were present at the time of his decease were of opinion that the wisest course to pursue would be to conceal from the public the news of the Emperor's death till the arrival of the Prince, and they accordingly enjoined strict silence on all those who were aware of the melancholy event which had happened They then put the corpse into the wooden case of a European clock, which was very long, and stood in the Hayát Bakhsh Garden, and for a shroud they procured a cloth from the *darogha* of the kitchen, pretending it was required for the dinner table. They buried him in the garden Letters were then despatched to the Prince, informing him of the dangerous illness of the Emperor, and urging him to come to Dehlí with all possible speed, but they made no mention of the Emperor's death

The Prince, on hearing the sad news, pushed on with all haste * * Beyond Pánípat he was met by a procession bearing the Golden Umbrella and the other emblems of Royalty, which had been sent by Safdar Jang Though the Prince, on seeing these emblems, was given to understand that his father had died, he

did not wish to assume hastily the regal title, but proposed to go on to Dehlí as usual, and there, having mourned for his father three or four days, and having performed all the funeral ceremonies, then to assume the title of Emperor. But Safdar Jang, seeing the evil that was likely to result from this, would not permit such delay. The Prince was forced to submit, and assumed the Royal Umbrella and all the insignia of royalty, and the usual rejoicings took place. * * The length of Muhammad Sháh's reign was thirty years and twenty-seven days, dating his ascent to the throne from the murder of Farrukh Siyar.[1]

When the Prince succeeded his father on the throne of Dehlí, he took the title of Mujáhidu-d dín Ahmad Sháh Ghází, and in the prayers and on the coins these titles were adopted, and to his deceased parent he gave the title of Hazrat Firdaus Árámgáh. Ahmad Sháh was *not* a man of great intellect, all the period of his youth till manhood had been spent in the *harem*, and he had had absolutely no experience whatever of the affairs of a kingdom, or of the cares of government. Besides this, he was surrounded by all kinds of youthful pleasures, which every person, seeing the turn of his mind, was anxious to display before him to entice his fancy. As a natural consequence, he gave himself up entirely to pastime and sports, and bestowed no thought on the weighty affairs of the kingdom. To manage a country and wield a sceptre is a matter full of difficulty, and until an Emperor understands thoroughly himself the good and bad tendency of every measure, he cannot be fit for a ruler. For this reason Ahmad Sháh was unable to govern the empire entrusted to him.

In the month Jumáda-s sání, or one month after his ascent to

[1] [The *Taríkh-i Muzaffarí* says, "The length of the reign of this sovereign, from his accession on the 11th Zi-l ka'da, was thirty years four months and twelve days, or reckoning according to the official account from 9th Rabí'u s sání, the day on which Farrukh Siyar was placed in confinement, thirty years eleven months and eighteen days. His age was forty-nine years. He left one son, Prince Mirza Ahmad, and one daughter, Hazrat Begam."]

the throne, news was brought from the Dakhin that Nizámu-l Mulk Ásaf Jáh, the Názim of the Dakhin *súbas*, who also filled the office of head paymaster in the Royal Court, and whose son Ghâzíu-d dín Khán acted for him, had died In his place, his younger son Ahmad Khán Násir Jang was appointed, he having before acted with satisfaction to his master for his father, when Nizámu-l Mulk came to Dehlí in Muhammad Sháh's time, and this appointment was made at once to prevent the chance of any rebellion or insurrection breaking out, among rival candidates. On hearing this news, the Emperor bestowed on Abú-l Mansúr Khán Safdar Jang the empty post of *wazír*, vacated by I'timádu-d daula's death, and the paymastership, vacated by the death of Nizámu-l Mulk, he bestowed on Zú-l fikár Jang.

The same day, Jáwed Khán, the head eunuch, who in the time of Muhammad Sháh had the entire management of the *harem*, and had the *entree* to the women's apartments, and although 50 years old, could neither read nor write, but being constantly in the presence of the Emperor, had represented himself as being well up to business and an intelligent man, prevailed on the simple-minded youth of an Emperor to appoint him *darogha* of the *Díwán-i khass*, with a *mansab* of 6000, thus exalting him far above his equals * * The Emperor gave over the entire management of the country to him The Nawáb, who had in the days of the former sovereign carried on a secret intimacy with Ahmad Sháh's mother, who was originally a dancing girl, now openly governed the realm in concert with her, and, contrary to the custom of all *harems*, where no male domestics are allowed at night, he always remained in the women's apartments all night, and in the day used to converse with low characters, such as *khansamans*, and did not look on the nobles

Character, qualities, and lineage of the mother of the Emperor

Udham Báí, the mother of Ahmad Sháh, was first introduced into Muhammad Sháh's *harem* in the beginning of his reign, and

she received the title of Udham Bái, and for some time remained the favoured one in the sight of the Emperor. But her good fortune deserted her, and she fell to a state of abjectness She became the contempt of the *harem*, lost all her character and station, and was not even at last allowed to see her own son When, however, her son, Ahmad Khán, ascended the throne, her star of prosperity daily increased, till at last she surpassed all the Begams She was first called Bái Jiú Sáhiba, afterwards "the Parent of the Pure, the Lady of the Age, Sáhib Jí Sáhiba, on whom be peace!" Then she was called Hazrat, afterwards Kibla i 'Alam, in addition to the former titles held in the deceased Emperor's time, and although she had already a *mansab* of 50,000, yet, owing to the intimacy she kept up with the Nawáb, she managed to have the rule of the whole Empire Notwithstanding the lowness of her origin, and the very humble position which she had till lately held, the fruits of her generosity and magnanimity soon became known and lauded First of all she gave to all the young children of the deceased Emperor, who in his time got no monthly pension, £50 a month To many of the Begams she gave larger pensions out of the Government purse, to many more out of her own private funds, and on any person who had managed anyhow to make his case known to her she bestowed charity Having called together the families of her children and grandchildren, she distributed to them large presents of money, and fixed monthly salaries for their maintenance In short, the Queen and the Nawáb took the whole government into their own hands, and the Emperor had nothing left but the empty title * *

Second Durrání Invasion

After several months, Ahmad Khán Afghán again made his appearance with an army, and crossing the Indus, made direct for Láhore Mu'ínu-l Mulk marched out from Láhore, and crossing the Rávi with a large force, went to meet him, and encamped two miles from Láhore, where he threw up three

intrenchments Ahmad Khán, after crossing the Chináb and Jhelam, reached within six miles of his camp, and some smart skirmishing took place, but Mu'ínu-l Mulk, seeing that the enemy's force was so superior to his own, would not engage in a general battle Ahmad Khán's forces, separating in all directions, laid waste the villages and fields on every side, till they arrived in the neighbourhood of Láhore, destroying all the country in its proximity Mu'ínu-l Mulk took no notice of this destruction to the country, though it was apparent to his eyes The news of Ahmad Khán's attack speedily reached the ears of the Emperor and the *wazír*, but no one thought of sending troops to assist Mu'ínu-l Mulk, on the contrary, the *wazír* was not a little pleased to hear of his embarrassment

At last news arrived that Mu'ínu-l Mulk had, according to the advice and instructions of the Emperor, ceded to Ahmad Afghán the four *mahals* of Láhore, viz Siálkot, Imanábád, Parsarúr and Aurangábád, which had formerly belonged to the ruler of Kábul Násir Khán was appointed to manage these four *mahals* and send the yearly revenue to Kábul Ahmad Khán, being perfectly satisfied with this arrangement, quitted the Panjáb for Kábul, and Mu'ínu-l Mulk returned to Láhore * *

One day a number of oppressed subjects assembled themselves together in the empty courtyard opposite the Nawáb's palace, and waited there till he came out to go to the Emperor, when they mobbed him and detailed all their grievances The Nawáb, as usual, tried to put them off by fair words and deceitful promises, and wished to escape from them inside the palace, but was forcibly detained, his clothes being held by the people, who would not let him go till he settled for the payment of their arrears. His clothes were torn to pieces, and the fragments remained in the hands of the soldiers * * The complaints of the sepoys grew daily louder The Emperor went to the Queen-mother, and said that he was completely overpowered by his troops, and his reputation was entirely gone, and therefore

begged for assistance from the Queen, so as to escape from their importunity This gave rise to much discussion At last, having taken all the ornaments from the three Begams, he pledged them for money, to the value of several *lacs* of rupees, but he paid no one their salaries The soldiers, on account of their want of pay, and the nobles through the want of some controlling power instead of their own authority, became helpless, and reduced to extremities

At this time Káím Khán Afghán, who was the chief of Kanauj and Farrukhábád, and a noble in the Royal Court, who held a *mansab* of 7000, and had the titles of Káím Jang and Káímu-d daula, whose father likewise had held these lands in the time of the former Emperor, made arrangements for war upon Sa'du-llah Khán, son of the *Zamíndar* of Alola and Bangash, in the district of Sambhal, on the other side of the Ganges, and got together a large force and artillery. Sa'du-llah Khán heard of his approach, and prepared to resist his attack, but first tried the effect of negociation * * But as Káím had the superiority in force, he would not listen to any negociation A general battle ensued In the midst of the battle a ball struck Káím and killed him Sa'du-llah Khán returned with immense spoil to his own territory The Emperor entertained no feelings of displeasure or distress on hearing of this business, but the *wazír* seized upon the favourable opportunity for taking possession of the lands of Káím Khán, determining that as so great a *sardar* as Káím had been removed, it should be a long time before such another took his place At last the Emperor had nothing whatever to say to anything that went on, and the Nawáb became in reality the reigning sovereign as far as concerned the managing the revenues and general affairs of the country. The Emperor considered it to be the most agreeable to him to spend all his time in ease and pleasure, and he made his *zenana* so large that it extended for a mile For a week together he would remain without seeing the face of any male being, and he would live in his gardens for one and two months at a time

Second Rohilla Insurrection Malhar Holkar

After the departure of Safdar Jang, Ahmad Khán's followers put to death the *kotwál* of Farrukhábád, who had been appointed by the *wazír*. On hearing this a fire was kindled in the *wazír's* mind, and he determined to take possession for himself of all their lands and houses The Rohillas had greatly the superiority in numbers, and the *wazír's* force, unable to withstand them, gave way The *wazír* remained watching his force giving way, and as the battle drew near to him, his elephant was wounded in several places, and he himself received a ball in the chin which just grazed the skin, singeing his beard, and narrowly missing his head The *mahout*, seeing this, turned the elephant's head, carried him out of the battle-field, and in one day brought him to the neighbourhood of Koel, a distance of forty miles, where his wound was healed. The *sardárs* of his army fled from the field on all sides, none remained with the *wazír* The whole of the tents and baggage fell into the hands of the Rohillas

Rája Isrí Singh, master of 7000 horse, died As he had no son, his younger brother, Mádhú Singh, who was grandson of the Báná, and had lived with the Báná since his birth, was installed in his place In the confusion consequent on change of rulers, Malhár Holkar Mahratta Dakhiní, who was *Názim* of the Málwá country, came with a large force and sat down before Jaipúr Mádhú Singh, being unable to cope with Holkar's force, tried the effect of peaceful negociation; but Holkar would listen to no terms, except those of Mádhú Singh giving up all his treasure and guns, in which case he promised to evacuate the country, if not, he would take possession of the territory, and as an earnest of his intentions, he laid waste the country of Jaipúr for about ten or twelve miles, and the inhabitants of the town were unable to get supplies of grain and grass Mádhú Singh, being thus reduced, came to Holkar, whose men at once seized all his jewels and money and plundered as they chose Holkar then dismissed the Rája, and returned to his own territory

The *wazír* sent Rája Rám Husain, his *diwán*, and Rája Jagat Kishor, who had the *súba* of Bengal, to Malhár Holkar, with a message that he ought to assist him in punishing the impudence of the rebel Afghans These two used their utmost powers of persuasion to influence Holkar to come over the Jumna by Ágra, and when the *wazír* heard of this arrangement having been definitely made, he himself started, but this time took none of the Játs, etc., with him He gave the whole charge of the force into Holkar's hands At that time there was no great *sardár* of note in Hindústán who had obtained a superiority over the rest The *wazír* used to go sometimes to Holkar's tents, and Holkar came to his Holkar left his tents two or three miles ahead of the *wazír*, and in this way proceeded till they reached the country of the Afgháns They had this time collected together a force one hundredfold as great as the former one Holkar's army, as it proceeded, laid waste the country, cutting off all supplies from the Afghán force. On the other side of the Ganges the road was in the hands of the Afgháns, who guarded it on both sides A battle took place between the two forces, but Ahmad Khán Afghán was unable to withstand the enemy, and retreated along the banks of the river, till he found a ford where he crossed, and thence fled

The towns of Farrukhábád, Ataipúr, and others, fell into the possession of the Dakhinís. They destroyed the houses, and took away as plunder all the guns, etc , and a large amount of treasure which the Rohilla force had been unable to carry away with them. The Afgháns, because that the Dakhiní force was unable to pursue them, encamped on the Rámganga, near Bareilly The *wazír*, crossing over the Ganges with his army, went to attack the Afgháns The Dakhiní army remained on this side, and the Afghán force on the other side of the river The *wazír* and Malhár Ráo separately went in pursuit of the army, which was encamped on the banks of the Rámganga A running fight was kept up between the contending forces for several days. At last the Afgháns, departing from thence with all their families and

baggage, went to Alola, the residence of Sa'du-llah Khán. The *wazir* and Malhár followed them thither, and blockaded Alola Ahmad Khán and Sa'du-llah Khán first went in the direction of the Jumna, which is towards the northern hills, and has a ford at Burya, that they might cross the river there, and having plundered Sirhind, might go on to Láhore But they were afraid to undertake this enterprise, from fear of the enemy They sent off their families into the hills, and hid themselves in the thickest jungles of a forest, which is one hundred miles in length, and thirty or forty miles in breadth, and there remained concealed The victorious army entrenched themselves near these jungles, and held themselves in readiness for a fight During this time the forces of the Mahratta Dakhinís, splitting up into small bodies, began plundering Murádábád, and all the cities and *parganas* of that part of the country These places, having never before been visited by any plundering army, had been inhabited long time by merchants and bankers, who had amassed great wealth, which they kept in these cities The Dakhiní force attacked and ransacked the whole country, not allowing a single man to escape, and every article of money or property they carried off as booty. Many of the old families were completely ruined Most of the better class of men, to save themselves from disgrace, committed suicide

The Afghán force, which remained concealed in the jungles, now and then sallied forth against the *wazir's* troops, and, having made successful attacks, returned to their place of shelter The *wazir's* men were quite on the alert to attack in their turn, but they could not by any means get the enemy out of the woods into the open They then tried to blockade the forest, and cut off all supplies of grain, but as they received their supplies from the Rája of Kumáun in the rear, the Afghán army was not in the least inconvenienced Many a time the *wazir* sent word to the Rája, to seize on all their supplies, but his message had no effect Although the *wazir* had intrenched himself, was watching patiently his opportunity, and had spent large sums of

money in this undertaking, yet the Emperor of Dehlí gave himself not the slightest concern about what was going on He was employed constantly in pleasure and sport, and the *Nawáb*, who was entrusted with the whole management of the Empire, was busy peculating in the public money * *

When the *Amíru-l umará* (Sa'ádat Khán) returned from Ajmír, and paid his respects at the Court at Dehlí, he found the Emperor's condition changed entirely. The *Nawab* (Jáwed), in the absence of Ahmad Afghán, and of *Mír Bakhshí* (Sa'ádat Khán), who had gone towards Ajmír to settle the affairs of the Rájpúts, had acquired such an accession of power that it was almost impossible for him to have more—to such a degree, in fact, that when the *Bakhshi* wished that he might receive some *jagir* and money pension in return for his services and the fortune which he had expended in the war, he was unable to obtain the gratification of his wish, but, on the contrary, his rank and power became somewhat diminished Although he petitioned the Emperor, his petitions were made over to the *Nawab*. The *Bakhshi*, who was a man of good birth, and had never been accustomed to make his requests through the medium of any third party, became greatly distressed and annoyed at this, and relaxed in his visits to the royal presence His servants pressed him for their pay, but the *Amír* explained to them his abject condition, and showed it to the world, till at last he fortified his house with rockets and other firearms, and then shut himself up. And it was commonly reported that he said (whether true or false) to his friends, "There is no Emperor here Why should we go to the *darbar* of a eunuch, to be insulted, and have our dignity lessened? To whom shall I state my case that I may be heard? It is better to give up such service" He then concerted a plot with I'timádu-d daula, and they both wished to bring the other nobles, who were anything but satisfied with the *Nawab*, and found their dignity much lessened by him, to join with them and create an insurrection

The *Nawab* heard of this plot, and frightened the Emperor by

the intelligence, and advised him at once to depose Zú-l fikár Jang (Sa'ádat Khán) from his rank and title * * Gházíu-d dín was given the title of *Nizamu-l Mulk* and *Amíru-l umará*, and received the office of *Mír Bakhshi* and the *Súbadári* of Ágra. I'timádu-d daula obtained the *Súbadári* of Ajmír and *Faujdári* of Nárnaul in the room of Sa'ádat Khán deposed, with the titles of *Imamu-l Mulk Khán-khánan*, besides all his former titles and rank The *jágírs* of Sa'ádat Khán, which he had received in the present reign, and which partly had been bestowed in the time of the old Emperor, were resumed. Sa'ádat Khán waited a few days more, to see if he should be restored to his former dignity, but when he found that it would not be so, he sold all his jewels and silver, paid up and discharged all his soldiers, and requesting of the Emperor permission to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca, he prepared everything for his journey thither The *Nawab* persuaded the Emperor to place guns near Sa'ádat Khán's house, to prevent his coming out, and no one was allowed to go from without to visit him * *

On hearing the news (of the approach of Ahmad Abdálí), the Emperor wrote a letter to the *wazír*, telling him of the impending war, and requesting him quickly to finish the war with the Rohillas and Ahmad, and then return to him The *wazír* (Safdar Jang), before this letter had arrived, and as soon as he had heard what was going on in the Panjáb, opened negociations with the enemy, and on the arrival of the Emperor's letter, he received some presents from Sa'du-llah Khán Rohilla, and took from him written promises to pay more in the future, on which conditions he allowed him to retain his lands. Ahmad Khán, too, was permitted to keep his ancestral property, and leave was granted him to give over all the other lands which had been seized to any one he chose Having made peace in this manner, he retired Mahmúd Khán, son of Ahmad Khán, and the brother of Sa'du-llah Khán Rohilla, came into the *wazír's* camp, paid their respects, and then departed again The *wazír* marched from thence towards Lucknow, and settled that province * *

The news of Ahmad Abdálí's rebellion daily increased, and the newsmongers from Láhore brought word that Mu'ínu-l Mulk had sent his mother and family to Jammu, where they would be safe out of reach of all pursuit All the inhabitants of the city, seeing their ruler take flight in this manner, sent off their families to Dehlí and other parts to the south-east When much negociation had been carried on, and Mu'ínu-l Mulk heard that Ahmad had reached the banks of the Indus, and was intending to cross, he sent him nine *lacs* of rupees

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As the pay of the chief officers and others in the Emperor's service was very great and it had been allowed to run on for twenty-two months, on the 14th Rabí'u-s sání, the *khwajas* and *peons* of the *harem*, having left their posts, assembled at the large gate, which is called the *Nazir's* gate, and, sitting down there, stopped the way for passengers and the supplies of water, grain, etc, which were being brought in and out A disturbance threatened, and the *Nazir*, Roz-afzún Khán, had that day sent in his resignation to the Emperor, because there were no receipts, and the expenditure from the treasury was enormous * *

Ahmad Abdálí, leaving his encampment on the other side of the Rávi, crossed over with his troops, and pitched his tents near Láhore. Mu'ínu-l Mulk also crossed over, and encamped in the rear of the city, and preparations were made for battle. On the 1st of Jumáda-l awwal, Ahmad made a movement in advance with all his army, and a general battle took place Rája Kora Mal was killed Mu'ínu-l Mulk, on hearing this sad news, gave up the battle, and began to reflect that Kora Mal, who had been the great opponent of peace, was gone, and as the Abdális were fond of money, it would be far best to give them anything they wished, and make peace He therefore sent a message to this effect Ahmad, seeing that Mu'ínu-l Mulk's force was all scattered, considered this a favourable opportunity He sent a message to Mu'ínu-l Mulk "My business was with Kora Mal now that he is dead, go you into the fort, and remain there. I have nothing

to do with you or the city. The money which I have demanded from you, do you give me, either collected from the peasants, or from your own resources, then I will depart." Mu'ínu-l Mulk, being defeated, could not but consent to everything Ahmad proposed, and Ahmad's men took possession of the city, which they plundered * * After a time, Ahmad, having made presents to Mu'ínu-l Mulk, retired to Kábul

CI

BAYÁN-I WÁKI'

OF

KHWÁJA 'ABDU-L KARÍM KHÁN

THIS is the title of the memoirs of Khwája 'Abdu-l Karím Khán of Kashmír, which contain a very full account of the proceedings of Nádir Sháh in India, and of the reigns of Muhammad Sháh and Ahmad Sháh. Part of this work has been translated by Mr. Gladwin, and an abstract of the author's pilgrimage to Mecca has been given by M. Langlès in his *Collection Portative des Voyages* (Paris, 1797-1835, 8vo.)

The following list of contents will show that the *Bayan-i Wakí'* contains valuable materials for the history of the period of which it treats.

It is divided into five Chapters, each containing several Sections.

Chap. I. History of Nádir Sháh and his march to Hindústán.—Sec. i. Family of Nádir Kulí Beg; Sec. ii. Downfall of the Safaví Dynasty, and rise of the Afgháns; Sec. iii. Contest with Malik Mahmúd Shabistání; Nádir Kulí Beg obtains the title of Khán; Sec. iv. Battle of Sháh Tahmásp with the Afgháns who had taken possession of 'Irák and other places; the power of the *Kazalbashis*, and death of Ashraf Shah; Sec. v. Engagements of Tahmásp Kulí Khán with the armies of Rúm and of the Turkománs; deposition of King Tahmásp, success of King 'Abbás, and other events of the same nature; Sec. vi. Contests of Tahmásp Kulí Khán with the armies of Rúm, Bulúch and Túrkistán, and his overcoming the three

armies, after having been defeated by Naupál Páshá, the commander-in-chief of the army of Rúm, Sec. vii. Accession of Nádir Kulí Beg Tahmásp Kulí Khán to the throne of Persia, Sec viii. March of Nádir Sháh towards Hindústán, and devastation of the country; Sec ix Hostilities between the Emperor of India and the King of Persia treaty of peace with which they concluded; Sec. x Arrival of both kings at Dehlí, the metropolis of India, and the cause of the general massacre, Sec. xi Events which happened after the general massacre

Chap. II. Nádir's return to Persia, and his visit to Túrán and Khwárizm—Sec i. Departure of Nádir Sháh from Dehlí to Kábul and Sind, and the deliverance of the people of India, Sec ii Events which occurred during his stay in Dehlí, Sec iii. Nádir Sháh's march towards Sind, ruin of the country, and imprisonment of its ruler, Sec iv Nádir Sháh's pursuit of Khudáyár Khán, festival of Nauroz, with the display of the plunder of India, and list of the presents distributed on the occasion, Sec v March of the King from Hirát to Túrán, and its conquest; Sec vi March from Balkh towards Bukhárá; Sec vii Interview of the King of Túrán with Nádir Sháh, Sec viii Events which occurred during Nádir's stay at Bukhárá, Sec. ix March of the King from Bukhárá towards Chárju, and his war with the Túrkománs, whom he conquered, with some other events which happened during that period, Sec x March of Nádir Sháh towards Khwárizm, Sec xi Return to Khurásán and Marv, Sec. xii Journey to Mázandarán, and the events which occurred there, Sec xiii Translations of the Old and New Testaments

Chap III Description of what the author witnessed in his journey from the capital of Kazwín to the port of Húghlí—Sec. i Journey from Kazwín to Baghdád; Sec ii. Tombs of holy men, Sec iii. Author's journey to Mecca, *viâ* Syria and Aleppo, with a *káfila*, Sec iv Visit to Medína across the desert, Sec v Other events which happened on his way from Mecca to the port of Húghlí.

Chap. IV Events from the author's arrival at the port of Húghlí to the death of Muhammad Sháh—Sec i. A short account of Bengal, etc , Sec ii Arrival of an ambassador from Nádir Sháh to the Emperor, Sec iii March of Muhammad Sháh against Muhammad 'Alí Khán Rohilla, Sec. iv. Account of Nádir Sháh's death, Sec. v Death of the Nawáb Zakariyá Khán, Sec vi Expedition of Ahmad Sháh, surnamed Durrání, Sec vii March of Ahmad, son of Muhammad Sháh, to oppose Ahmad Sháh Durrání, Sec viii Battle between Sultán Ahmad, son of Muhammad Sháh, and Ahmad Sháh Abdálí, Sec. ix. Death of Muhammad Sháh, and a short account of his ancestors

Chap V Events which happened during the reign of Ahmad Sháh—Sec i Accession of Ahmad Sháh to the throne, Sec ii Death of Muhammad 'Alí Khán Rohilla, the contests between his sons, and the quarrel of 'Alawí Khán and Nawáb Káim Khán, son of Nawáb Muhammad Khán Bangash, Sec iii Short account of Nawáb 'Alawí Khán, Sec iv Assassination of Jáwed Khán Nawáb Bahádur, and the battles fought by Safdar Jang

The conclusion contains miscellaneous matter relating to certain marvels, the saws and sayings of wise men, etc

[The entire work was translated for Sir H M Elliot by "Lt Prichard," and from that translation the following Extracts have been taken]

Size—146 pages of 19 lines each

EXTRACTS

Nádir Sháh had sent Muhammad Khán Afshár on an embassy to Muhammad Sháh, Emperor of Hindústán But on account of the difference of opinion that existed among the nobles around that monarch, a long time elapsed, no answer to the letter was forthcoming, and the ambassador himself did not return When Nádir considered the matter, he came to the conclusion that hostility towards him was intended by the nobles around the throne of Hindústán, and he made up his mind to march against Kábul

What befell me after my arrival at Húghli until the death of Muhammad Sháh.

At this time, in consequence of the weakness of His Majesty Muhammad Sháh, and the want of unanimity among his nobles, the armies of the Mahrattas of the south had spread themselves over Bengal, and Húghlí fell into their hands I had occasion to stop at the city of Firáshdánga (Chandernagore), which is inhabited by a tribe of Frenchmen. The city of Calcutta, which is on the other side of the water, and inhabited by a tribe of English who have settled there, is much more extensive and thickly populated than Firáshdánga. All the different tribes of Europeans have got different names, such as the Fransís (French), Angrez (English), Walandíz (Hollanders), and Partagís (Portuguese). The delightful gardens which the Europeans make, with a number of trees great and small, all cut with large shears and kept in order, as in their own country, are exceedingly pleasing and refreshing The reason why they have so many gardens is, that a separate family, or one set of inhabitants, lives in a separate house There is no difference whatever to be observed in any of their manners and customs, indeed, they all live just as they do in their own country They have churches, too, where they perform Divine service in congregations, and everything else is managed in a similar way according to custom Many tradesmen and professors of different arts have come from Europe and taken up their abode here, and get occupation in making things, carrying on their trade as they do in their own land A great many of the Bengalís have become skilful and expert from being with them as apprentices

As they excel in other arts and sciences, so also in a military point of view are the Europeans distinguished. This the Mahrattas know well, for although there is so much property and merchandize belonging to commercial and wealthy men of these parts in Firáshdánga and Calcutta, and it would only be a journey of two *kos* from Húghlí to Firáshdánga, and although

the Europeans have no fort, and are so few in number while the Mahrattas are as numerous as ants or locusts, yet, in spite of all this, the Mahrattas see the unanimity and concord that exists among the Europeans, and do not attempt to approach them, much less to attack them The Europeans fight with guns and muskets, but when the time for using the sword comes, they are at a disadvantage.

One great reason of the armies from the south invading Bengal is the fighting of Nawáb 'Aliwardí Khán with Nawáb Sarfaráz Khán, son of Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula Sarfaráz Khán, after the death of his father, was induced by the temptation held out by his companions to lay violent hands upon and injure Hájí Ahmad, brother of this 'Aliwardí Khán, who had been a confidential friend of Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula. 'Aliwardí Khán, too, had been on terms of friendship with Shujá'u-d daula, and was appointed by him to manage the affairs of 'Azímábád, in the office of deputy governor, and was so employed when he marched towards Murshidábád, for the purpose of reasoning with the son of his patron on the impropriety of being induced to oppress and tyrannize over his dependents by the silly speeches of designing men, and with the hope of being able to deliver Hájí Ahmad from his difficulties Sarfaráz Khán was completely possessed with the idea that he was coming with deceitful and dishonest intentions, and marched out of Murshidábád to meet him. An action took place between the two armies, in which Sarfaráz Khán was accidentally killed by a musket-ball fired by one of his own men His army was scattered Of his friends and officers, some were killed, others were taken prisoners, and part fled

Now the followers and friends of Sarfaráz Khán say, that 'Aliwardí Khán made use of the false imputation as a means of advancing his own views, and that, though apparently he came for the purpose merely of having an interview and giving advice, in reality his intention was to seize upon the property and take the life of Sarfaráz Khán At any rate 'Aliwardí Khán became master of the country and treasure, with all the wealth of Ja'far

Khán, who had formerly been *Súbadár* of Bengal, and was the grandfather of Sarfaráz Khán by his mother's side The accumulated treasure of Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula, and all the valuables and property of Sarfaráz Khán and his servants, fell into the hands of 'Alíwardí Khán, and God alone knows how much it was. By distributing money and behaving with kindness, by keeping on good terms with all, and behaving discreetly, he completely gained over to his cause the hearts of all men far and near.

After these events, some of the relatives and dependents of Sarfaráz Khán, who had fled and concealed themselves from fear of being punished and injured, went and took refuge with Nawáb Ásaf Jáh Bahádur Nizámu-l Mulk, ruler of the provinces in the south, and having led the plundering troops of the Mahrattas by the road of Orissa, they caused great injury and misery to be inflicted on the inhabitants, and distressed the rulers of the time The fire of slaughter was kindled between the two parties, and the lives of many of 'Alíwardí Khán's army and a few of the soldiers of the Dakhin were sacrificed, but, considering the strength and firmness of the Governor of Bengal, neither party can be said to have got the victory.

As the rainy season was approaching, the Dakhiní troops were in anxiety about returning, and so, having abandoned the contest, they turned their faces southward, laden with spoil, the amount of which is beyond my power of description 'Alíwardí Khán, from fear of war, pacifying the nobles and the Emperor by means of presents of cash and valuables, requested that the *súbadárship* should be given to him, and he exerted himself with great activity in reducing the provinces to obedience Nevertheless, the Mahratta troops, who were fond of good living, and well experienced in everything good or bad, established themselves on the frontier, and came yearly committing their ravages At last, after fighting and quarrelling, and after much deceit had been practised, they came to an agreement on this point, viz that the province of Orissa should be made over to the Mah-

rattas in exchange for the fourth share of the revenues of Bengal, which in the language of their country is called *chauth* 'Alíwardí was to keep the rest.

Bengal is an extensive country and fertile, and produces a large revenue The climate, however, is very damp, on account of the quantity of rain that falls and its proximity to the salt sea The inhabitants of that district, like those of Kashmír and Mázandarán, live chiefly on rice On the 1st of the month Muharram, in the year 1156 A H, I left Murshidábád, after a sojourn there of seven months, and as I was afraid of the Mahratta troops, which were scattered over that part of the country, I crossed the river, and set out in the direction of 'Azímábád (Patna), by way of Púraniya and Tirhút Although the inhabitants of Púraniya suffer under chronic disease from the unhealthiness of their climate, yet, as the Nawáb Saif Khán, brother of Mír Khán, keeps his district in complete order and discipline, they are free and untouched by other calamities

The city of 'Azímábád (Patna) is a well-populated and clean place, and the waters of the Ganges and Jumna, and all the canals of the district round, collected together, flow by the city, and then take their course through Bengal to the great ocean The Europeans here have built good houses, and are engaged in commerce The leaves of the betel-tree are very good here, and they carry them hand by hand to distant places The rice, too, of 'Azímábád is more tasty than that of Bengal, and the rich men buy it and eat it.

For some time the health of the Emperor had taken a turn for the worse, and pressing letters were frequently written to the physician, Nawáb Hakím 'Alawí Khán, to come with all haste. We set out from 'Azímábád together, and passing by Benares, Alláhábád and Farrukhábád, we arrived at the royal city of Sháh-Jahánábád on the 10th of the month Jumáda-s sání, in the year 1156 A H, and rested from the troubles of wandering in the jungles and measuring the desert The governors of provinces and the officers of police in Hindústán were not in any way

wanting in the hospitality and politeness, kindness and attention, that they showed to the Nawáb Hakím 'Alawí Khán, on account of his great natural talents, learning, and great fame, in which they followed the example of the magistrates and rulers of the Kings of Írán, Rúm, Arabia, and Yaman, and they exerted themselves to the utmost to please him

At this time the *súbadar* or governor of Alláhábád was the Nawáb Amír Khán 'Umdatu-l Mulk, pillar of the State, and this appointment of governor was not pleasing to him, nor was it according to the Emperor's commands, but to please Nawáb Kamru-d dín Khán *Wazír-i 'azam* or prime minister, and Nawáb Ásaf Jáh Bahádur, he had on this pretence sent him a long way from the Court For Amír Khán was a wise and intelligent man, and was every day setting the Emperor against the Nawáb Kamru-d dín Khán and the Mughal and Túrán nobles By the force of his observations, and excellent judgment of character, he was gaining his object, so they banished him from Court on pretence of giving him the *subadarship* of Alláhábád, which had been settled upon him for some time

After the lapse of a certain time, this Khán adopted a wonderful expedient He sent to Court Nawáb Abú-l Mansúr Khán (Safdar Jang), who was commander-in-chief (*Sahib Jang*) of the Írání troops, and able to oppose the Turánís, from his province of Oudh. He himself repaired thither (to Court) also, and having given the appointment of commander of artillery (*Mír-atish*), from which Nawáb Saiyidu-d dín Khán had been ejected, to Safdar Jang Bahádur, he managed, according to his former custom, to succeed in all his objects by means of his eloquence and subtlety of address But one day, Thursday, the 23rd of Zi-l hijja, in the year 1159 A H, one of his own servants, with whom he had a dispute of long standing, as they were in the public hall of audience near the Jáli Gate, wounded him in the side, and sent him to eternity

Embassy from Nadir Sháh to the Emperor.

Mahmúd 'Alí Beg and Mahmúd Karím Beg, who had been sent by Nádir Sháh, arrived at Court, and had the honour of kissing the threshold of royalty. They brought with them one hundred elephants, and swords with golden handles, according to the custom of Hindústán, and gilt spears and other golden weapons which were foreign to Persia and not generally used there, as well as a letter full of expressions of friendship, and presented them before the enlightening eye of majesty They were honoured by the gift of several precious robes of honour After a few days, they said that Nádir Sháh had sent a verbal message to the effect, that in consequence of his wars in Túrán and Dághistán and Rúm, and the large army he kept up, and his having remitted three years' revenue to all the population of Írán, his treasury was empty, and if he (Muhammad Sháh) would send fifty or sixty *lacs* as a help to him, it would be an act of great friendship and brotherhood, and he had sent the elephants and the golden articles for the purpose of getting the money As there was no mention whatever made in the letter about the money, Muhammad Sháh cleared the account by his answer, which was this "When my brother the King of Kings was departing, he said to me, 'Everything that comes written in a letter is right and proper, but verbal messages are never to be depended on' However, on account of the weakness of my kingdom, and the bad behaviour and evil doings of my rulers and rebellious *zamindars*, I get no revenues at all from my provinces, and my expenditure exceeds my income This subject is not mentioned in your letter, and therefore a verbal answer is suited to a verbal message" The China vessels, sandal-wood, aloe-wood, etc, which were written for in the letter, he sent with great care Although he weighed out the money of his answer with words of circumspection, nevertheless, till the news of Nádir's death arrived, nobles, *wazirs*, the Emperor himself, and even beggars, were in an anxious state of mind.

Murder of Nawáb Bahádur Battle between Nawáb Safdar Jang and the nobles of Ahmad Shah. Destruction and plunder of the old city of Dehli

Jáwed Khán Nawáb Bahádur, the eunuch, was desirous of getting into his own hands, and without a partner, the whole direction of the Government of the country, with the assistance of Nawáb Kudsiya, mother of the Emperor The Nawáb Safdar Jang *Wazír-i 'azam* also was desirous of doing the same thing for himself So both these men became enemies to one another, and each waited for an opportunity of preventing the other from being a sharer in the Government. Nawáb Safdar Jang was the first to begin, and called into the city Súraj MalJát, openly on the pretence of consulting him about taking and setting in order the capital of the Empire, but secretly and really with the object, that if the Emperor's men and followers should begin to raise a disturbance, they both together might be able to extinguish the flame of opposition

They sent a message to the Nawáb Bahádur to this effect, that without him they could not deliberate on the affairs of the Empire So, on the 27th day of the month Shawwál, in the year 1165 A H (28th August, 1752 A D), he repaired to the house of the *Wazíru-l Mulk*, where they killed him in a private closet, and threw his body into the river The followers of the *wazír* said that his death in this way was the reason why the slaughter and plunder was not so bad as it would otherwise have been, because, in the event of a battle and contest taking place, the royal fort, which was his dwelling-house, and the dwelling-houses of the citizens, would have been sacked, and very many men on both sides would have been killed.

After this event, Nawáb Kudsiya, who had been patron of Nawáb Bahádur, exhibited her displeasure. But the *Wazír-i 'azam* sent to say that in this matter he was not to blame, because the physician, Hakím Sháki Khán, had brought a verbal message from the Emperor to the effect that the best thing that could be

done was to kill and get rid of Jáwed Khán. He had reprimanded the physician, and made Hakím Akmal Khán his physician in his room During the month Jumáda-s sání, in the year 1166, there was a disagreement between the *wazir* and the Emperor, and the enemies of the *wazir* apprised the Emperor in many ways that it was Safdar Jang's intention to seat on the throne Buland-akhtar, younger brother of Muhammad Sháh, who was of the same sect with himself, viz a *Shi'a* The Emperor accordingly commanded that the *wazir* should be deposed from his office of commandant of artillery This measure he did not approve of, and asked for leave to go towards Oudh, to put the country in order. The Emperor and the enemies of the *wazir* looked upon this as an unexpected piece of good fortune and a secret victory, so they forthwith sent him a *khil'at* and leave to depart After delaying and lingering, he determined that it was not advisable to go to the province, and halted in the city, but the Emperor had laid this injunction on him, that he should go to his own province, viz Oudh. When the quarrel between the parties became known, the Nawáb Wazír, from fear lest the Túrání chiefs, along with the Emperor and common people, should attack him, left the city with all his property and baggage, and halted for some days in or near the garden of Isma'íl Khán and the Tál-katora and Khizrábád This delay and waiting was planned in order that Súraj Mal Ját might arrive When he came, he urged the Emperor to send 'Imádu-l Mulk (Ghházíu-d dín) and Intizámu-d daula to him, and to tell Nawáb Kudsiya to come out of the fort and take up her abode in the house of Ja'far Khán; because it was well known to Nawáb Safdar Jang that Intizámu-d daula had been the cause of the firing of muskets on the day of the *'I'd*, and Nawáb Kudsiya, in consequence of the murder of Nawáb Bahádur, had become the enemy of his family The cause of Safdar Jang's displeasure with 'Imádu l Mulk Mír Bakhshí was this, that at the death of his father, Nawáb Ghházíu-d din Khán deceased, Safdar Jang had influenced the Emperor, and had freed from confiscation the house and land of

'Imádu-d Mulk, and had procured for him the office of *Mir Bakhshi*, notwithstanding his youth Besides, he had adopted him as his son, and was his friend in all matters, but for all that he would not assist his patron. The short of the matter is that the Emperor sent this answer, "You obtained leave to go from this province and went, and now, for the sake of obtaining assistance from Súraj Mal Ját, you vex me in this way."

At this crisis, the Ját men began to injure and plunder the old city. Ahmad Sháh sent for Nawáb Zú-l fikár, who for a long time had been out of office, and living in idleness at home He had him conducted to his presence with all honour, with the intention, that if the *wazir* should rebel, he would appoint him to the office The next day Nawáb Safdar Jang endeavoured to work upon the cupidity of the above-mentioned man, by holding out this hope to him, that if he would come over to him, he would confer upon him the office of *Mir Bakhshi*, from which 'Imádu-l Mulk had been deposed

When all, small and great, were of opinion that Safdar Jang would be victorious, Zú-l fikár Jang asked the Emperor for leave of absence On pretence of going to pay a visit to the tomb of the saint Sháh Mardán, he went and joined the *wazir's* army, and engaged in robbing and plundering the old city Accordingly Ahmad Sháh Bahádur, acting upon the opinion of his mother and the nobles, bestowed the office of commandant of artillery upon Nawáb Samsámu-d daula, son of the late Khán-daurán, and the *khil'at* of the *wazirship* upon the Nawáb Intizámu-d daula, son of Kamru-d dín Khán the late *wazir*. Nawáb Safdar Jang, on hearing this, was struck with consternation, and took a young eunuch, who had beautiful features and a good figure, and was about thirteen years of age, who had been lately purchased by Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula, and calling him Akbar Sháh, placed him on the throne, and constituted himself *Wazir* Zú-l fikár Jang he made *Mir Bakhshi*, and the other nobles he appointed to the different offices, both great and small

From the 6th of the month Rajab, in the year 1166 A H.

fighting and contests commenced in earnest. But how can one call it fighting, when on the side of Safdar Jang there were 50,000 horsemen, and the Emperor had only a small body of men, and they too, by reason of the strength of their enemies and the weakness of their own party, were terror-stricken? But I must relate the victory of the weakest, among my records of extraordinary incidents, and the reason why these already half-conquered and almost unarmed men obtained the victory, and the others who considered themselves already conquerors were worsted, was apparently this, that Nawáb Safdar Jang perceived, when he considered the state of the people of the old city, and the smallness of the army, and want of money, that they would of their own accord return to their allegiance, and so, whilst he was in fear and anxiety himself, he instilled fear into the minds of his chiefs, and did not consider it advisable to make an attack till late in the day, when Mahmúd Khán of Kashmír, steward of Nawáb 'Imádu-l Mulk, Háfiz Bakhtáwar Khán, and the relations of the Nawáb Kudsiya and others, having raised a large army, and called together the landholders from the district around, supported by their artillery, they took up their position so as to block up the entrance into the city

Accordingly the inhabitants of the city, with a view to obtaining protection for their families and property, and on account of their being of the same sect and kindred tribe with the Mughals, deserted from the army of the *wazír* in troops, and with the hope of obtaining presents, dresses of honour, and increase of pay, entered the service of Nawáb 'Imádu-l Mulk The troop of horse called the *dágh-i sín*,[1] which Nawáb Sa'adat Khán and Safdar Jang had left behind, he ('Imádu-l Mulk) kept in perfect order, and appointed Mahmúd Khán to their command. Notwithstanding this state of things, negociations for peace went on

But the Ját and Kazalbásh soldiers reduced to ashes the old city and Wakílpúr and other places, and the Nawáb Wazír spread

[1] [Branded with the letter *sín* (س), the initial of Sa'ádat Khán]

the report that they had gone to the Kashmír Gate So the citizens were in a dilemma on both sides Outside the city the Ját and Kazalbásh soldiers were carrying on the attack, inside, the Emperor issued an order that the houses of those men who joined the *Wázir* should be seized On this pretext wicked and ill-disposed men followed their own devices. The first thing that happened immediately on the Emperor's order being issued was that the houses of the sons of Mahmúd Is'hák Khán deceased were plundered, because that from their houses balls and rockets fell by night upon the ramparts, and in this way a world of people were injured and wounded As every one knew that he was the brother-in-law of Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula, son of the *wazír*, who was with the Emperor, they all had left their families and property there, and were plundered Some perished by the flames, and some were drowned in the river. The same thing happened to the house of the Khwája Mahmúd Básit, who was the spiritual guide of the *wazír* His house was outside the city walls, and as he had received a message from the *wazír* to keep his mind at ease, he had not moved out of his place. The Ját plunderers, who went by the name of Rámdal among the people of that part, attacked his house, and carried away the property of a number of men who had left their goods there, this became the source of very great affliction to the people

Considering the quantity of property that was collected near the Kashmír Gate, which was looked upon as a safe place, the inhabitants of that part may be said to have been the worst off All, small and great, became involved in confusion, and began to utter complaints and lamentations, and the state of the people was like a wreck, for save in the presence of Him who hears the prayers of all in deep distress, they had no place of refuge At this crisis Najíb Khán Rohilla came with 10,000 horse and foot in answer to the Emperor's call, and on the 1st of the month above mentioned, viz Sha'bán, he arrived in camp Isma'íl Khán of Kábul, who was *Mír-shamshír* to the *Wazír*, and had a battery in the house of Salábat Khán, made a mine

under the tower of the city wall, which was adjoining the house of Kamru-d dín Khán, where there was a battery of the Emperor's troops, and on the 3rd of Sha'bán they fired it. Notwithstanding that it did not produce such universal destruction as might be expected, yet many of the Emperor's followers, and the servants of 'Imádu-l Mulk who were assisting them, and who were at work trying to frustrate the enemy's design, were destroyed, and a crowd of men were wounded and in part destroyed by the stones of the tower that were blown up in the direction of the burning battery. The *wazír's* troops made an attack, and the fruits of victory were nearly visible on their side, when Nawáb 'Imádu-l Mulk *Mír Bakhshi*, Háfiz Bakhtáwar Khán, Najíb Khán and others, opposed them and behaved with great bravery, and a large number from both sides became food for the all-devouring swords. Najíb Khán Rohilla was wounded by a ball, but both sides remained as they were, neither party gaining the victory. At night Isma'íl Khán left his battery, and went out to the camp of Safdar Jang. This was a source of relief to the citizens, because, when the field of battle was close, the balls and rockets fell on every one like the blows of sudden misfortune.

After his retreat, the *Mír Bakhshi*, Háfiz Bakhtáwar Khán, and others advanced their batteries and got possession of the little fort of Fíroz-sháh, and another called the Old fort. After a few days spent in fighting, Nawáb Safdar Jang abandoned his intention of keeping to the road by the river, on account of the strength of the enemy's intrenchments, and marched by way of the Tál-katora. In that direction he added fresh splendours to the city of the angel of death. The *Mír Bakhshi* and the others then hastily strengthened their intrenchments in that quarter. Some well-contested engagements took place, and Gosáin, who was an officer of great bravery in Safdar Jang's army, was killed.

When Safdar Jang found that an entrance to the city on that side was impracticable, he returned by Khizrábád and the river, The same course of events ensued. Daily the bark of life of

crowds of warriors of both sides floated down the river of death After many battles and a great deal of fighting, the *wazir* came to the conclusion, that on account of their being so close to the city and fort, the enemy were enjoying rest So he determined to retreat by a circuitous route, and thus draw the enemy into the plain, and engage him there Accordingly he retreated gradually to a distance of twelve *kos*, and as he retreated, 'Imádu-l Mulk advanced his trenches But he was prevented by the prayers and tears and complaints and persuasions and panic of the citizens from attacking his adversary in the plain and turning his flank

While matters stood thus, Saiyid Jamálu-d dín Khán, who had been sent by Mu'ínu-l Mulk, governor of the Panjáb (who was the uncle and father-in-law of 'Imádu-l Mulk), arrived with 5000 horse, which added greatly to his strength They were anxious to engage in battle, as men who are confronted by enemies, but Najíb Khán Bahádur showed signs of disapproval

CII

TÁRÍKH-I 'ÁLAMGÍR-SÁNÍ

[THIS history of 'Álamgír the Second, Aurangzeb being Álamgír the First, is anonymous The author gives neither his name nor the date of his composition It begins with the accession of the Emperor, and terminates at his death, recounting all the events of the reign very fully, and in plain language A few passages have been translated by the Editor The work begins with the Extract which follows

SIZE—9 inches by 5, containing about 300 pages of 13 lines each]

EXTRACTS.

[Time in its changeful tortuous course is always bringing forth some fresh event, and new flowers are every day blooming in the garden of the world In these days events have come to pass such as have never entered into the mind of man, and of these it is the writer's intention to give a brief relation

Ahmad Sháh, son of Muhammad Sháh, succeeded to the throne of Hindústán, and reigned for six years three months and nine days He gave himself up to useless pursuits, to pleasure and enjoyment, and his reign was brought to an end by the enmity which he showed to Nizámu-l Mulk Ásaf Jáh (Ghâzíu-d dín Khán), at the instigation of his *wazír* the Khán-khánán and his mother Udham Bái He was succeeded by Muhammad 'Azízu-d dín, son of Mu'izzu-d dín Jahándár Sháh, son of Sháh 'Álam Bahádur Sháh, son of Muhammad Aurangzeb 'Álamgír

Gházíu-d dín Khán, being embittered against Ahmad Sháh, desired to remove him, and to raise to the throne some other of the royal race who would rule under his guidance. After the defeat at Sikandra, Ahmad Sháh fled into the citadel of

Sháh-Jahánábad. Nawáb Malika-i Zamání (Queen dowager), Názir Roz-afzún Khán, and other people of the palace, were at Sikandra, and the Queen dowager and the *Nazir* conspired together to raise Muhammad 'Azízu-d dín to the throne, and they informed this Prince of their intention On the 9th Sha'bán, 'Ákibat Mahmúd Khán went to Ahmad Sháh on the part of Ghāzíu-d dín, and called upon him to dismiss Khán-khánán from the office of *wazír*, and not to allow him to enter the fortress, to remove Udham Báí from the fortress, and to give the robe of *wazír* to him (Ghāzíu-d dín) Ahmad Sháh, being unable to help himself, sent the robe and portfolio of *wazir* by the hands of 'Ákibat Mahmúd Khán Next day, 11th Sha'bán 1167 A H (5 June, 1754 A D), Ghāzíu-d dín crossed the river with a body of Mahrattas, put on the official robe, and took his seat in the office with the usual formalities He then directed 'Ákibat Mahmúd Khán to go to the dwelling of the princes (*deorhi salátín*) and bring 'Azízu-d daula Accordingly 'Ákibat Mahmúd, taking with him Thákur Dás *peshkar* and Názir Roz-afzún Khán, went thither, and bringing forth 'Azízu-d daula, placed him on horse-back, and, accompanying him on foot, conducted him towards the royal palace Ghāzíu-d dín met him on the way, and paid his homage Other attendants of royalty joined the procession. On reaching the public hall of audience, the Prince was placed upon the throne, the drums beat out, and he received the title of 'Abú-l 'Adl 'Azízu-d dín Muhammad 'Álamgír II. Bádsháh-i Ghází He was born on the 17th Zi-l hijja, in the year 43 of Aurangzeb, 1110 Hijra (1699 A D)

Up to this time Ahmad Sháh knew nothing of what was passing until the kettle-drums roused him from his heedlessness Soon afterwards Ghāzíu-d dín's men, with some *harem* attendants, arrived, brought out Ahmad and his mother Udham Báí, and were about to make an end of them, when he implored them to send him to the abode of the princes, and there confine him So they placed him and his mother in one litter, threw a sheet over their heads and took them to the dwelling of the princes. * *

The new Emperor was fifty-six years of age, and had five sons, the eldest of them twenty-eight years old * * He used to come out of his private apartments into the stone mosque or into the public hall to say the prayers at the five appointed times in the congregation, he applied himself to reading books of history, and took no pleasure in seeing dancing or hearing singing, but he never failed on the Sabbath to attend either the *Jámi'-masjid* or the wooden mosque within the palace * *

When (previous to this) Raghunáth Ráo, Malhár Ráo, and the other Mahratta chiefs came to the aid of Gháziu-d dín, he pledged himself to pay them a large sum of money Súraj Mal Ját also made peace with the Mahrattas, they raised the siege of his fortress, and he recovered his lands Gháziu-d dín and 'Ákibat Khán then sent the Mahratta army against Ahmad Sháh, who was at Sikandra They plundered the royal army and made Nawáb Malika Zamání Sáhiba-mahal, Názir Roz-afzún Khán, and many others prisoners They plundered the ladies of their money and jewels, and calling together all the officers of the palace and great men who were there, they demanded payment of the promised money, declaring that they would not let the ladies go until it was paid Gháziu-d dín and 'Ákibat Mahmúd Khán made themselves sureties for the payment of forty *lacs*, and the ladies were then sent to Dehlí in a bullock carriage with an old tattered covering, such as they had never ridden in before The Mahrattas crossed the river, encamped four *kos* out of the city, and there waited payment of the money * *

Gháziu-d dín was annoyed at the ascendency obtained by 'Ákibat Mahmúd Khán, * * and sent for him to make inquiries about a sum of money which he had obtained 'Ákibat Mahmúd Khán answered bitterly, and Gházíu-d dín, who had before thrown out hints about killing him to Shádil Khán and Bahádur Khán, got up and went out No sooner had he done so than these men despatched him with their swords and daggers, and cast his body on to the sand beside the river Intelligence of the murder was brought to the Emperor when Saifu-d dín Muhammad

Khán, brother of 'Ákibat Mahmúd Khán, was present. Gházíu-d dín came on horseback soon afterwards, and embraced and consoled Saifu-d dín On that same day Ahmad Sháh and his mother were brought out from their dwelling, and conducted to another, where in the evening they were both deprived of their sight, only a short time after 'Ákibat Mahmúd Khán was killed

Death of 'Álamgír.

'Álamgír entered into the cell to have an interview with the *darwesh*, and there Bálábásh Khán killed him with his dagger * * Afterwards the conspirators took the corpse, and threw it down upon the sand at the foot of the *kotila* of Fíroz Sháh They then gave out that he had gone to the *kotila* to visit a *darwesh*, and that his foot having slipped, he fell from the top of the parapet He had reigned five years seven months and eight days.]

CIII

TÁRÍKH-I MANÁZILU-L FUTÚH

OF

MUHAMMAD JA'FAR SHÁMLÚ

[THE following is the account which the author himself gives of his work in the Preface "This work was composed at the instance of His Majesty, Abú-l Fath Sultán Muhammad Sháh Bahádur,[1] by his faithful servant, Muhammad Ja'far Shámlú, who passed his early youth in the service of the illustrious monarch, Sháh Rukh Sháh Safaví, and towards the close of his career repaired to Hindústán, and waited on Muhammad Beg Khán Hamadání During the prime of life, however, for the space of five-and-twenty years, he was constantly with Ahmad Sultán Abdálí, more commonly styled Durrání, and having accompanied him several times to Hindústán, became well acquainted with the whole series of royal marches from the city of Kandahár to the metropolis of Sháh-Jahánábád At the battle, which was fought at Pánipat with Wiswás Rái and his deputy Bháo, the author was himself present on the field, and witnessed the circumstances with his own eyes Other particulars too he learnt from persons of credit and sagacity, and having written them all down without any alteration, he designated the work by the title of *Manázilu-l Futúh*, or Victorious Marches"

The work is a short one, and the whole of it was translated for Sir H M Elliot by the late Major Fuller The greater part of this translation is here printed]

[1] [This is an error, for Muhammad Sháh died in 1161 A H, thirteen years before the battle which is the subject of this work In a later page the book is said to have been written in the time of Sháh 'Alam]

EXTRACTS

From Kandahár, which Sultán Nádir first desolated and then founded Nádirábád in its stead, and Sultán Ahmad afterwards destroying the latter city and replacing it by that of Ahmad Sháhí, the route to Kábul was as follows [*Detailed and descriptive account of the route from Kandahar by Kábul, Peshâwar, Attock and Lahore, to Dehli*]

Having concluded a description of the marches along the whole length of the route, the dark-writing pen enters into a narrative of the battle fought by Ahmad Sultán Abdálí Durrání, and the Hindústání chiefs who had coalesced with him, against Wiswás Rái and his deputy Bháo, who were of the Mahratta race, when, having engaged the infidel throng at the town of Pánípat, he by the aid of Divine power inflicted a severe defeat, and expelled them from the face of Hindústán, insomuch that they never ventured to re-enter it for a period of twenty years Now-a-days, since His Majesty, potent as Alexander, and famous as Solomon, the Emperor Abú-l Muzaffar Sháh 'Álam the Second Bádsháh Ghází Gurgání, has gone from Alláhábád to the metropolis of Sháh-Jahánábád, out of the power of the sword of Zú-l fikáru-d daula Najaf Khán Írání, and has brought a body of Mahrattas in his ever-victorious train, for the sake of chastising the Afghán Rohillas, this race has gained a fresh footing in Sháh-Jahánábád and Ágra * *

In short, the author will explicitly relate a useful summary of the wondrous events that took place at the battle of Pánípat, and the annihilation of the vile infidel Mahrattas, detailing both whatever he has seen with his own eyes, and whatever authentic information he has acquired from other historians in every quarter Wherever any one else has written a different version to that of the author's, it is entirely erroneous, and unworthy of credence, and that man has, solely with a view to his own glorification, uttered falsehoods without any foundation

Now the author was at that time Comptroller of Affairs to Sardár Sháh Pasand Khán, who was chief over 12,000 horse,

consisting of Kazalbáshís, Abdálís, Chahárás, Aimáks of Hirát, Marvís, Jazínís, Wardaks, Uzbaks, Charkhís, Hútakís, and Ghiljáís, as well as *dárogha* of Ahmad Sultán's stable, and of the *paiks* and *harkáras* (couriers and messengers). He formed the vanguard and advanced division of the army, and during the heat of the conflict we were opposed to Jhankú and Malhár Ráo, two leaders of the aforesaid Mahrattas, and from all sides couriers kept constantly bringing us intelligence. Nothing, therefore, more accurate than this that I have written, has ever met any one's sight; and accordingly the movements and dispositions of the forces, and other particulars of the action, and of the period they were halted confronting each other, will here be fully detailed

Ahmad Sultán, after fighting an action with Jhankú and Datta Patel on the banks of the river Attock, in which they were worsted, pursued them as far as Búryá and Sárangpúr. Just as his army was crossing the river at Búryá, however, whilst a portion of it had effected its passage, another was midway across the stream, and another was still waiting to cross, the Mahrattas made a vigorous attack, and a tremendous conflict ensued The action lasted for three or four *gharis* or even as long as a *pahar*, but ended in the ultimate discomfiture of the Mahrattas, 4000 of whom met their death, the survivors betaking themselves to Sháh-Jahánábád, where they remained

On this side too, Ahmad Sultán having arrived opposite Sháh-Jahánábád with his army and Najíb Khán and Háfiz Rahmat, resolutely devoted his energies to the task of crossing the river Jumna from alongside Takia Majnún. The Mahrattas came out to prevent him, but notwithstanding all their exertions, they were forced to take to flight without effecting their object, and retreated precipitately The troops in pursuing them entered Sháh-Jahánábád, and having plundered all quarters of the city, returned to their own camp.

Next day Ahmad Sultán marched into Sháh-Jahánábád, and at the earnest intercession of Maliku-z Zamání, the consort of

Muhammad Sháh, and daughter of Farrukh Siyar Bábarí, he prohibited his army from pillaging the city. This measure, however, was not attended with complete success, for every now and then the soldiery kept laying violent hands on the inhabitants, till, after an interval of twenty days, he marched away from thence, and proceeded to the city of Mathurá After attacking and plundering certain *Játs*, he crossed the river Jumna, and took up his quarters at Sábit-kasra for the hot weather On the near approach of the rainy season, he marched off to Anúpshahr, and laid the foundation of a cantonment, issuing orders to his army that every man should construct a thatched hut for himself, so that the camp equipage and baggage might not be damaged during the rains The expert thatchers accordingly used their utmost diligence in preparing these abodes

In the interim news arrived that Wiswás Rái, and his deputy Bháo, had entered Sháh-Jahánábád at the head of an army numbering about three *lacs* and a half (350,000) of cavalry and infantry On the same day, too, Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula Bahádur, son of Safdar Jang Irání, joined Ahmad Sultán's army with 30,000 horse and foot, and fifty pieces of cannon After an interview, Ahmad Sultán directed the Nawab, along with Sháh Pasand Khán, to strike his tents, and repairing as quickly as possible to Sháhdara, which lies on this side the river Jumna, to pitch his advanced camp there, in order that the garrison, which was shut up in the fort of Sháh-Jahánábád, might take courage to hold its own The above individuals traversed the distance as directed in the course of three or four days, wading with extreme difficulty through the floods caused by the rain, for all the country and the roads were covered with water up to a horse's chest, and the Hindan and Kálí streams were scarcely passable, as no ford could be discovered Having thus reached Sháhdara and erected their tents, several Abdálís and Kazalbáshís, who were besieged in the fort, embarked on board of boats, and repaired to the advanced camp The third day Ahmad Sultán likewise came and entered it.

As it was the rainy season, the Mahrattas did not deem it expedient to attempt the passage of the river Jumna, on account of the impetuosity of the current, and the encampment of the army on the opposite bank Some of the Afghán chieftains too, such as 'Abdu-s Samad Khán, Kutb Jang, and others, were at Kunjpúra, coming to join the army with ten or fifteen thousand followers, but owing to the headlong force of the stream, had halted, and were making arrangements for crossing As soon as this intelligence reached the ears of Bháo and Wiswás Ráí, they set their hearts on coercing the chiefs in question, and moved towards Kunjpúra On arriving there, they entered into a sanguinary conflict with the said chiefs, and ultimately the Mahratta force, from its vast superiority in numbers, having overcome them, put the whole body ruthlessly to the sword 'Abdu-s Samad Khán and Kutb Jang suffered death, and Nijábat Khán was taken prisoner At that time the Mahratta power had reached to such a pitch, that they had brought all the country as far as the river Attock under their subjection

When the news of the defeat and death of the above-mentioned chieftains reached Ahmad Sultán, he expressed the deepest regret, but no benefit accrued therefrom to those who had fallen As the rainy season, however, had drawn to a close, he marched from Sháhdara with a view to seek revenge, and turned in the direction of Kunjpúra Directly intelligence of Ahmad Sultán's movement reached the Mahratta leaders, they quitted Kunjpúra, and arriving at the town of Pánípat, encamped there On this side, Ahmad Sultán, at the head of his army, consisting of 60,000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry *jazailchis*, 2000 camel swivels, and 200 pieces of cannon, repaired to the bank of the river Jumna, right opposite to Pánípat, accompanied by the chieftains of Hindústán, such as Nawáb Wazíru-l mamálik Shujá'u-d daula Bahádur, son of Safdar Jang Bahádur Írání, with 30,000 horse and foot, and 50 pieces of artillery, Ahmad Khán Bangash, with 15,000 horse and foot, and 60 guns, Najib Khán, with 30,000 horse and foot, and 30 guns, Háfiz

Rahmat Khán Afghán Rohilla, with 25,000 horse, and 25 guns, Davindí Khán Afghán Rohilla, with 12,000 horse and foot, and 10 guns; and Asadu-llah Khán Afghán Rohilla, with a similar force Having crossed the stream in the course of three days, he pitched his camp and pavilion in front of the Mahratta army [1]

The Mahratta chiefs then sent Káká Pandit, [2] a renowned leader, who had 12,000 horsemen under his command, towards Ghází-u-d dín Nagar, for the purpose of pillaging the *banjáras* who were in the habit of bringing grain to the camp of Ahmad Sultán and the chiefs of Hindústán, so as to prevent their receiving supplies Accordingly, in the course of three days, the price of grain rose to a rupee a *sír* in the Sultán's camp As soon as the soldiery became downcast and dispirited on account of the dearth of provisions, Ahmad Sultán mounted on horseback, under pretence of enjoying field-sports, but in the very midst of his sport, he directed Hájí Nawáb Alkúzai [3] ('Atáí Khán) to go after some game in a certain direction at the head of 2000 dauntless horsemen. The latter had been privately instructed, however, to go and chastise Káká Pandit, and drive him off the road Hájí Nawáb Khán, therefore, having crossed the river Jumna, reached Ghází-u-d dín Nagar by forced marches in a day, and at once attacked them The contest was carried on vigorously for two hours on both sides, but the Mahratta party were eventually defeated, and a large number of them fell a prey to the keen swords of the Abdálí warriors Káká [4]

[1] ["Ahmad Sháh reached Bághpat, which is eighteen *kos* from Dehlí, and pitched his tents on the banks of the Jumna He ordered search to be made for a ford, and many horsemen who entered the river were drowned with their horses The Sháh practised abstinence, and wrote magic squares, which he threw into the water On the third day the river became fordable The army began to cross on the 15th Rabí'u-l awwal, 1174 A H (25th Oct 1760 A D), and the passage was effected in two days In the haste and crush some thousands were drowned"—*Akhbaru-l Muhabbat*]

[2] [His real name was Gobind Pandit, see *infrá*, *Táríkh-i Ibráhím Khan*, and Grant Duff, vol ii p 145]

[3] [The *Táríkh-i Ibráhím Khán* and the *Nigár-náma-i Hind* call him 'Atá Khán, and that is right according to Grant Duff]

[4] ["Gobind Pandit was totally unable to rise, from extreme obesity and old age, but he was forced to mount a horse and fly precipitately"—*T Ibráhím Khán* "He fell off his horse, and a Durrání killed him"—*Nigár-náma-i Hind*]

Pandit himself met with his death, and the surviving remnant of the force fled away, and betook themselves to a place of security. Hájí Nawáb then rejoined the army, victorious and successful, bringing the *banjáras* along with him, whereupon grain became plentiful and cheap in the camp markets, and the fears of the soldiery being removed, they engaged in their military duties with zeal and cheerfulness

The two vast armies, having fixed their standing camps at a distance from each other of twice the range of a cannon-ball, maintained their respective positions, and the skirmishers on either side used daily to engage one another On one occasion during this interval a thousand horsemen, each one carrying 2000 rupees with him on his horse, were proceeding from Sháh-Jahánábád to their own camp, and as they stood in fear of the Abdálí army, they used to march during the night One of the horsemen belonging to the party, having become oppressed with drowsiness towards morning, missed his road, and moved towards the Abdálí camp Having thus come face to face with the hostile picquets, he got caught in the grasp of calamity, and prepared for the road of ruin. From his own mouth it was discovered that they were conveying treasure to the Mahratta army, so a number of the boldest spirits out of every band set out for the Mahratta camp without any order from Ahmad Sultán, and during that short period of dawn until the rising of the great luminary pillaged three or four hundred of the horsemen Among the number of those out in quest of booty was 'Aká Sandal Habshí, chief eunuch to Sháh Kulí Khán the Wazír, who put one Mahratta horseman to death himself, and carried off his 2000 rupees The remnant of the Mahratta party gained their own camp by a precipitate flight, and so escaped from the grasp of death till their predestined day

In like manner, as often as one or two thousand of the Mahratta horse went out for grass and forage, the Abdálí and Hindústání heroes used to pillage them on their way, till at length affairs reached such a pass that none would stir out

fruitlessly from their position, which they had surrounded with a strong intrenchment, except wretched naked labourers who, going by stealth into the open country, used to dig up grass from the ground with their *kharpas*, and offer it for sale. As soon as Ahmad Sultán became cognizant of these matters, he directed Khánján Khán, the head of the Fúfalzai chiefs, who is generally known as Jahán Khán, along with three or four thousand Kazalbáshís who were under his command; as well as Hájí Nawáb Khán Alkúzai; to mount every day and patrol round the Mahratta camp at a distance of two *kos* from their intrenchments, one from the northern side, and the other from the southern; and whenever any forager with grass should approach the enemy's camp, to put him to death The chiefs in question accordingly continued for a period of two months to patrol round the intrenched camp, slaying and pillaging every forager they came across, who attempted to convey grain, fodder, or grass to the enemy, afterwards they used to separate from each other on the east and west.

The Mahratta army being reduced to great extremities for want of grass, fodder, and grain, marched out with intent to give battle,[1] and at the time of their moving off from their position, such clouds of dust ascended up to heaven from beneath their horses' hoofs, that the bright day appeared to all eyes darker and gloomier than the murky shades of a pitch-black night, in so much that two persons seated side by side could not distinguish each other Ahmad Sultán then commissioned Sháh Pasand Khán,—who was both a great chieftain and *charkhi-báshi*, as well as commander of the vanguard, and *dárogha* of the stable, —the *harkáras* and the *paiks*, to go and procure information as to the state and strength of the Mahratta army The chief in question, taking the author of this work, and ten other daunt-

[1] [Ibráhím Khán states that the Bháo offered "to accept any conditions of peace that it might please the Sháh to accept," but the offer was rejected The Bháo was afterwards driven to give battle by the taunts and reproaches of his chiefs He gives the date 6th Jumáda-s sáni, 1174 A H (12th January, 1761 A D)]

less cavaliers from amongst his relatives and dependents along with him, pursued the road to their camp in the intense obscurity with perfect certainty, as there had been daily skirmishes with them on the plains, and a thorough knowledge of all the paths had been acquired In the course of four hours we had advanced half a *kos*, when at that moment the noise of artillery wheels struck on the sensitive ears of the author and his comrades, while the tramp of our horses' hoofs also reached the ears of the enemy's gunners They immediately suspected that a force from the Abdálí army was advancing under cover of the dense clouds of dust to make an assault, and fired several rounds, the shot of which passed close by our horsemen The horsemen in question having thus happily escaped the destructive effects of those cannon-balls, we turned back, and reported the news to Ahmad Sultán, that their army was steadily advancing with the resolute determination of giving battle The Sultán then set about disposing his troops in order, and marshalling their ranks * * Ahmad Sultán took his stand in the centre of the army, and planted 2000 camel swivels well in advance of his position In rear of the camel swivels came 20,000 infantry *jazailchis*, backed by the domestics of the royal *darbar* Behind these again was the band of music, and in rear of that Ahmad Sultán took up his position, supported behind by the Kazalbásh cavalry, counting over 10,000 sabres, and lastly by the force composed of Durránís, Ghiljáís, etc In rear of the line on the right-hand side was stationed Hájí Jamál Khán Bárakzái, who stood alert and ready for action at the distance of half a *kos*, so that whenever the enemy should make a desperate assault upon any one of the divisions that were drawn up in front, he might render it assistance On the left Shujá'u-d daula and others stood ready to furnish succour, and to do his utmost to repel the enemy, whenever any reverse should happen to one of those divisions in the front line

Both sides having arrayed their troops in line, stood confronting each other till noon, when * * the ranks of the two armies

appeared clearly to each other's sight.[1] Then the gallant youths, entering upon the martial strife, commenced the battle and dealt out lusty blows, whilst the expert gunners of European birth kindled the flames of war by discharging their thunder-voiced ordnance, and the rocketmen of magical skill consumed the thread of life of the heroes of the battle-field by darting their falcon-winged missiles As for a musket bullet, the heroes cared not what it might do, and in that scene of carnage and slaughter the only dread entertained by the renowned and gallant combatants was for a cannon-ball, or the flight of a rocket

From noon until only three *gharis* of the day remained, the battle continued to rage, the brave warriors being earnestly engaged in wielding sword and spear, and the wounded in yielding up life with groans and agonizing cries Bháo and Wiswás Ráí, in the early part of the engagement, made such incessant assaults, that Ahmad Sultán was under an apprehension that he would not be able to withstand them, and despatched a person to mount the ladies of his household on fleet steeds swift as the wind, and keep them waiting inside his private pavilion, so that, whenever the infidels should gain the superiority, they might be ready to pursue the path of flight, and betake themselves to the verge of safety and the nook of security That day, however, Mahmúd Khán Gurd Bulbás, who was chief eunuch, *Kúlalar-akáshi*, and commander of eight or nine thousand dauntless and bloodthirsty Kazalbásh horse, was posted in rear of Ahmad Sultán He having planted his foot firmly on the plain of contention, caused great slaughter with his keen-edged sword * * Through the reiterated charges of the Khán and his adherents, the pagan Mahrattas were unable to push on a step in advance of the position they had first assumed, and at this juncture an order was given to the *zambúrakchis* and *jazailchis*, not to be slack in keeping up their fire, but to consume the harvest of the enemy's lives with the flame of their bullets * *

[1] ["The battle was fought on 6th Jumáda-s sání, 1174 A H , or 8th Pús-badi, 1817 Samvat" (12th January, 1761 A D) —*Akhbáru-l Muhabbat*]

At length, by Ahmad Sultán's good fortune, one *zambúrak* ball struck Wiswás Rái on the forehead, and another hit Bháo on the side. From these bullet wounds both of them quickly pursued the road to the realms of perdition, and betook themselves to the lowermost pits of hell, while the rest subsided into the sleep of annihilation through the sword cuts inflicted by the Kazalbásh youth.

In a word, as soon as the Mahratta army perceived its chieftains travelling the desert of perdition, turning its face from the field of battle, it pursued the path of flight, and in an instant the scene of strife and bloodshed became cleared and purified, like the surface of a mirror, from the foulness of the vile infidels' presence. Couriers then conveyed the information to Sháh Pasand Khán that the worthless pagan Mahrattas had fled, and not one of them was left remaining on the field Jhankú and Malhár, who were two mighty chiefs, having planted firmly the foot of stability, kept fighting at the head of a *lac* of horsemen in front of Sháh Pasand Khán, so the latter, being re-animated with the news of the infidels' retreat, charged the chiefs opposed to him, and was occupied for two *gharis* in dealing forth blows and taunts on them Eventually they came to the determination of fleeing, and taking the route to the Dakhin, they departed from the field of battle The Írání and Durrání warriors, who were with Sháh Pasand Khán, pursued them, excepting the author of this work, who remained standing close by him At last Sháh Pasand Khán remarked that he was going to offer his congratulations to Ahmad Sultán, and told me to go and carry off some booty for myself

When the author had thus received permission, he put his horse to the gallop in company with a cousin of his own, and one attendant, and on reaching their camp, found about 30,000 infantry matchlockmen, or even more, going along with matchlocks at their backs, and naked swords in their hands We three individuals passed through the midst of them, however, and after seizing two strings (*katar*) of laden camels, by which is meant

fourteen of these beasts of burden, we returned again through the midst of that multitude numbering upwards of 30,000 souls, and so greatly were they inspired with terror and consternation, that they had not the power to use their weapons Stranger still, whilst returning to our own camp, a Mahratta chief, who had been stationed in the hindmost ranks of their army, and was fleeing towards the Dakhin with six or seven thousand horse, happened to meet us three individuals. With a view to save ourselves from harm, we fired off our three matchlocks, whereupon that force turned away from us, and proceeded in a different direction The author, together with his two companions, took from them a couple more camels, one of which carried a kettle-drum, and the other forage; and we re-entered our camp in safety and security just as five *gharis* of the night were past, at which time the glad sounds of the kettle-drums were reverberating through the ethereal sky from the army of Ahmad Sultán and the chieftains of Hindústán.

In this battle, out of the Mahratta leaders, Shamsher Bahádur, who was the Peshwá's son, and Ibráhím Khán Gárdí,[1] who had 30,000 Tilanga Gardís under his command, together with the Governor of the province of Gujarát Ahmadábád, met their deaths Out of that vast army too, consisting of three *lacs* and fifty thousand cavalry and infantry, only 50,000 souls succeeded in returning to the Dakhin, after undergoing a thousand hardships and difficulties, while the remainder pursued the path of perdition, either in the field or on the road, through the swords of the holy warriors

[1] *Ibráhím Khán Gárdí* "in times of yore ran with a stick in his hand before the palankin of M de Bussy,' at Pondicherry He rose to a command in the French service Subsequently he entered the service of the *Nizam*, and was afterwards entertained by the Bháo His men were trained in the European fashion, and like all men so drilled, were called Tilangas, or Gárdis They obtained the former name from having first been raised at Pondicherry The term "Gárdí" is said by the French translator of the *Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirín* to be derived from the Arabic *Gharbi* 'Western', but the word "guard," in its French, English or Portuguese form, seems to be a more likely source —*Seir Mutaqherin*, vol iii p 152 Grant Duff, vol ii pp 112, 121

All that the author witnessed with his own eyes, as well as what he learnt from the couriers under his authority and other comrades, every one of whom was on the spot, he has inserted in these pages, and it is his opinion, that there is none who can possibly be better acquainted with this engagement than his humble self; because the *harkáras* (couriers) were under his master's orders, and he was his master's factotum, everything that occurred being reported to the chief through him Whenever any one else, therefore, out of self-conceit, tells a different tale to this, it is a tissue of lies and falsehoods, and his statement is unworthy of credit

The ever-victorious Kazalbásh and Durrání warriors pursued the fugitives as far as the villages of Balamgarh and Farídábád, which are twelve *kos* from the metropolis of Sháh-Jahánábád, in the direction of Akbarábád, and from Pánipat to that spot must be sixty *kos*. Wherever they found the vile Hindú Mahrattas, they carried off their horses and equipments, and put the individuals themselves to death

Some of the soldiers, who were rather merciful and compassionate, wounded a party of Mahrattas and then let them go, as in the following instance The author of this work, together with Muhammad Beg Khán Hamadání I'rání, who held the title of Iftikháru-d daula Fíroz Jang from the Emperor of Hindústán, had about 20,000 horse and foot under his command, and was greatly honoured and esteemed by the late Nawáb Najaf Khán, was for some time in the camp of Maháji Patel Sindhia, the Mahratta; and Sindhia was so excessively lame, that two persons used to hold him under both arms to raise him from his seat Some one inquired of Sindhia the reason of his being lame, whereupon the latter, heaving a deep sigh, replied "When fate is unpropitious, the wisest plans are unsuccessful I had purchased a Bhúnráthalí[1] mare for the sum of 12,000 rupees, which outstripped the cold winter's blast in speed, and I was mounted on her back At the time when Bháo and Wiswás Ráí met with

[1] [From the valley of the Bhúnra or Bhíma]

their deaths, I got separated to a distance from Jhankú, the chief of my adherents, and was fleeing away alone, when a young Mughal riding a Turkí charger set out in pursuit of me However much I pressed my steed, whenever I looked behind, there I saw his horse shaking his ears, and coming straight on, till at last, the mare being incapable of further exertion, he overtook me. He then took away my steed and accoutrements, and gave me a wound in the leg, saying 'This shall give you a mark to remember for years to come' From that day to the present I have continued suffering from this painful wound, insomuch that I remember it well."

Another extraordinary incident was this During the flight of the Mahratta forces, a party of them had stopped at the caravanserai of Sonpat, for the purpose of eating bread and drinking water, when the Kazalbásh and Abdálí warriors came up in pursuit, and through fear of them, the guardians of the serai closed its gates As soon as the Mahrattas got intelligence of their arrival, every one mounted his horse, wishing to escape, but found the gate shut One of them spurred on his mare, which he conceived to be a good galloper, that he might clear the wall of the serai at a leap The gallant animal, flying off the ground like a falcon, stuck amongst the battlements of the wall, and there expired Thirty years ago the author of this work, happening to alight at that serai, beheld the horse's skeleton fixed in the battlements This noble feat is famous throughout the world

These singular events took place in the year 1174 A H (1760-1 A D) One of the poets of Hindústán, with a view to ingratiate himself with the Nawáb Wazíru-l mamálik Shujá'u-d daula Bahádur, composed the following chronogram of the victory

"Wisdom grew delighted and exclaimed, Come!
May the triumph of our Nawáb be propitious"

This humble individual, too, has written down all these particulars exactly as they happened, in order that they may be made apparent to His Highness's understanding.

CIV

JÁM-I JAHÁN-NUMÁ

OF

MUZAFFAR HUSAIN

THE writer of the *Jám-i Jahan-numá* was Muzaffar Husain, surnamed Mahárat Khán, son of Hakím Ghulám Muhammad Khán, son of Hakím Muhammad Kásim, son of Hakím Muhammad Sálih, son of Mauláná 'Abdu-s Salím, son of Mauláná 'Abdu-l Mumin, son of Mauláná Shaikh Muhammad, son of Mauláná Shaikh 'Alí, son of Mauláná Muhammad Aslam.

The reputation which some of these ancestors acquired for science and learning is dwelt upon by the author at the close of his account of the Poets. He traces his descent to Khwája Kohí, who left Baghdád to reside at Hirát

Khwája Kohí Astajlu is represented as a great saint, who flourished in the time of Sultán Husain Gurgání Mírzá Haidar says in the *Táríkh-i Rashídí*, in the chapter in which he gives an account of the saints and doctors, that one day as his father went to the *Jama'-masjid* in Hirát, he saw there Khwája Kohí, who, having read his prayers, was sitting with his face towards the *kibla* engaged in his meditations He asked the people who this man was, and on being told of his name, he stood aside, and when the Khwája arose, with the intention of departing, he advanced and met him with every mark of respect. The Khwája compiled a work on Moral Philosophy and the science of Mental Purification, which is entitled *Siyaru-l Arwah*

Maulána Muhammad Aslam, grandson of Khwája Kohí, was

born in Hirát. When 'Abdu-llah Khán Uzbek, the ruler of Máwaráu-n Nahr, laid siege to Hirát, and invested it for nine months, his father and relations, amongst many others, died, either from some pestilential disease which had broken out in the city, or from famine Muhammad Aslam, who survived, was then only fourteen years old, and, after the conquest of Hirát, was taken away by certain nobles of Bukhárá, Mír Sadru-d dín Muhammad and Mulla Tálib Hirví, to whom he was related. He was brought up under their care, and passed his hours in the acquisition of knowledge Afterwards, in the beginning of the reign of the Emperor Jahángír, he came to Láhore, and became a pupil of Shaikh Bahlol He also went to Ágra, and had an interview with the Emperor As he was the nephew of Mauláná Mír Kalán Muhaddis, he was very kindly received by the Emperor, and obtained the rank of fifteen hundred He resigned the royal service in A H 1060, and returned to Láhore, where he died the year afterwards

Mauláná Mír Kalán Muhaddis, son of Khwája Kohí, came from Hirát to Hindústán with his grandfather in the reign of the Emperor Akbar Jahángír was a pupil of his Mír Kalán died at Ágra.

Mauláná Shaikh 'Alí, Mauláná Shaikh Muhammad and Mauláná 'Abdu-l Mumin, were also held in good repute.

Mauláná 'Abdu-s Salím was a very learned man He had been educated by Shaikh Is'hák, Shaikh Sa'du-llah, Kází Sadru-d dín, and Shaikh Fathu-llah Shírází He wrote a commentary on Baizáwí He died in the first year of Sháh Jahán's reign. Mírak Shaikh Hirví of Khurásán, who was the tutor of Prince Dárá Shukoh, and held the office of *Sadr*, read several standard works with Mauláná 'Abdu-s Salím

Mauláná Muhammad Sálih acquired great proficiency in medicine, and was a scholar of Hakimu-l Mulk Takrí Khán Hakím Takí of Láhore, who is said to have possessed great skill in the profession, and was a most successful practitioner, was one of his pupils.

Muhammad Kásim, *alias* Hakím Kásim, diligently applied himself to the study of Theology, the several branches of Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, Divinity and Physics He also spent his time in getting the Kurán by heart For some time he was a servant of Amír Khán, the Governor of Kábul, after whose death he led a solitary life, and died at Láhore in the beginning of Farrukh Siyar's reign.

Hakím Ghulám Muhammad Khán, after having acquired a proficiency in the different branches of learning, took up his residence in early youth, towards the end of the Emperor Aurangzeb's reign, in the city of Aurangábád He had acquired perfection in Caligraphy, and specimens of his writing were long admired He entered the service of the Emperor Farrukh Siyar at the commencement of his reign, through the recommendation of I'timad Khán, whom he had taught to write *Naskh* He obtained the rank of five hundred personal allowance, with some *jagirs* in the *mahál* of Sakráwá, in the district of Kanauj, and the *parganas* of A'zam and Ál in the Panjáb When the revolution caused by the Saiyids embarrassed the affairs of the Empire, and the *jágírs* were confiscated or exchanged, he retired from public life, and passed the remainder of his days in devotion He died in A H 1178 (1764 A D)

Muzaffar Husain, surnamed Yúsufí, *alias* Mahárat Khán, the author of the work now under consideration, was born in the city of Aurangábád, in A.H. 1118 (1706 A D) He was only seven years old when he finished the Kurán, which he read with his father. He then commenced his Persian studies under the tuition of Sháh 'Abdú-l Hakím, who was one of his father's intimate friends He learnt to write the *Khat-i Naskh*, and studied some of the works which were compiled by his grandfather He went through all the standard works on Arabic Grammar, Logic, and Rhetoric, with Mauláná Mírzá Nazar 'Alí, brother of Hakím Zainu-d dín. At the age of fifteen, at his father's suggestion, he commenced the study of Physic, under the instruction of Hakím Muhammad Husain, surnamed Bukrát Khán, son of Hakím Ma'súm Khán

For six years he practised Medicine under his tutor, and when the Emperor, Muhammad Sháh, left the city of Dehlí to go on a hunting excursion to the village of Siolí, his tutor, who was the Emperor's physician, accompanied His Majesty, upon which occasion the author, who was then only twenty-one years of age, was left to take care of his patients. He informs us that as he had taken great pains to make himself master of his profession, he was able to cure many of them, and they expressed their thanks to him in the presence of his tutor. During the time he was learning Physic, he also studied books on Natural Philosophy, Divinity, Mathematics, Astronomy, Music, Astrology, as well as other sciences, under the instruction of Maulána Ghairutu-llah He was not, however, contented with these studies, he extended them also to the translated works of the ancients, such as Galen and Hippocrates He also turned his attention to composition, and wrote the *Usúlu-t Tibb*, *Siraju-l Hajj*, *Minhaju-l Hajj*, and other treatises. During the time he was thus occupied, he also collected, for the sake of amusement, some very interesting stories relative to the great men of past ages, and also the most select passages of ancient and modern poets He was urged by his friends to put all the matter he had thus amassed into a regular form, and connect it in such a manner as to make it fit for publication Although, in consequence of being one of the physicians of His Majesty, he had very little leisure from his ordinary duties, yet, for the sake of his friends, he consented to devote the best part of his time to preparing the work, and completed it in A.H 1180 (A D 1766-7)

The *Jám-i Jahán-numa* is of an exceedingly miscellaneous character, and deals but little in History The authorities are not mentioned, but a great part appears to be derived from the *Madinatu-l 'Ulúm* and the *Nafáisu-l Funún*. The information it contains is useful, and the anecdotes interspersed are entertaining and instructive

The work is divided into five Books.

CONTENTS

Preface, pp. 1 to 3—Book I. On the art of conversation, manners, repartees, witticisms, etc, pp. 4 to 60—Book II. On the History of the 'Ummayides, 'Abbásides, Táhirians, Saffárís, Samanís, Ghaznivides, Ghorians, Saljúks, Atábaks, Isma'ilians, Turks, Mughals, etc, pp 60 to 230—Book III Geography of the seven climates, and the wonders and famous men of each country, and the Poets of India, from Akbar's time down to 1180 A H, with extracts from their works, pp 231 to 826—Book IV On the Angels of Heaven and Earth, the Elements, the Mundane Spheres, the Sources of Rivers and Fountains, Birds, Quadrupeds, etc, pp 826 to 1230—Book V. On Writing, Language, Grammar, Rhetoric, Philosophy, Government, etc, pp 1231 to 1322

The only copy which I know of this work is in the possession of the Rája of Benares, very well transcribed in the year 1243 A H (1827 A D), for Díp Náráin Singh, the younger brother of Rája Udit Náráin Singh

SIZE—8vo, 1332 pages, containing 15 lines in each page

CV.

FARHATU-N NÁZIRÍN

OF

MUHAMMAD ASLAM

A GENERAL History of India, composed by Muhammad Aslam, son of Muhammad Háfizu-l Ansárí, and concluded in the year 1184 A H (1770-1 A D)

This History is somewhat ambitious in style, but of no great value for its contents The author informs us in his Preface that, "in the bloom of his youth, when he was yet a student, in the city of Lucknow (may God preserve it!), the heavenly inspirer whispered several times in the ear of this meanest person of mankind as follows —' O thou who art the painter of the various scenes of the gallery of the world, and the describer of the works of Nature! Since to thank and praise those who are the worshippers of God is in fact to thank and praise the Almighty Creator Himself, it is proper that thou shouldst compile a work, comprising the history of the Prophets, the Imáms, the Muhammadan Emperors, and the religious and learned men, by whose holy exertions the management of the country of Hindústán has been invisibly supported '"

Independent of this divine afflatus, he mentions other reasons which induced him to devote his attention to history—such as the universal desire to read historical works, combined with the exceeding difficulty of procuring them . the eagerness to acquire a knowledge of the manners and customs of the ancients, of the accounts of travellers, of biographies of famous persons, and of the wonders of the world. In order to satisfy this general

curiosity, he early accustomed himself to make extracts from books of travels and historical works, in order to compile a "history which might contain the most important and interesting matters, and which, from its lucid and methodical construction and exceeding conciseness, might meet the approbation of the most enlightened minds But as 'all works must be performed at the time destined for them,' the task was delayed till he had completed his studies "

After he had been fully educated, he visited the city of Faizábád in A H 1182, where he met the "most puissant and exalted Názim Jang Mudabbiru-l Mulk Rafi'u-d daula Monsieur Gentil, and petitioned through his intercession for his livelihood in the most high court of the world-benefiting and noble *wazir* of Hindustán, whose praise is beyond all expression That light of the edifice of greatness and the sun of dignity showed him great kindness, and said that he himself was fond of knowledge, and always devoted himself to the study of histories It was therefore desirable that the author should take pains to write a most interesting account of the *wazir's* noble family, of the Emperors of Hindústán, the Prophets and the eminently religious and learned men, to make the horse of his pen gallop over the field of eloquence, and like a diver bring out from the ocean of his mind such shining pearls as might adorn Hindústán with their light, and be ornaments to the ear of curiosity Prepare, said he, such a rose-bower as may echo with the song of the nightingales of the garden of knowledge."

Under these happy auspices, he commenced to labour in collecting the histories of Hindustán, and obtained from different places a great number of authentic works—such as the *Tarikh-i Nizamu-d din Ahmad Bakhshi*, *Mirat-i 'A'lam*, and Firishta He also informs us that he carefully perused other books, such as the *Tárikh-i Bahmani*, *Taju-l Ma-asir*, *Tarjuma Yamini*, *Tárikh-i Firoz-sháhi*, *Tarikh-i Alfi*, *Habibu-s Siyar*, *Rauzatu-s Safá*, *Timúr-náma*, *Waki'at-i Bábari*, *Waki'át-i Humáyuni*, *Akbar-nama*, *Jahangir-náma*, *Shah Jahan-nama*, *'A'lamgir-náma*,

Táríkh-i Bahádur Sháh, etc. "He made abstracts of these treasures, which like scattered pearls were separate from each other, and strung them upon one thread after a peculiar plan, to be remembered by posterity, in this charming garden, which is entitled *Farhatu-n Názirín*, the 'Delight of Observers'"

The author states that he wrote his Preface in the year 1184 A H (1770 A D.), and dedicated the work to the "most prudent *wazír*, the gem of the mine of liberality, of most noble extraction, the select of the whole creation, the leader of the army of victory, Shujá'u-d daula Bahádur, in the hope that he would approve of it, and that it might go forth like the wind to the different quarters of the earth, and like unadulterated coin might obtain circulation throughout all countries. The readers of this mirror of the world are requested to consider the little leisure he had from his other avocations, and to remove with the sleeve of kindness the dust of inaccuracy which might soil its splendour, and to spare their reproaches"

The author divides his work into an Introduction, three Books, and a Conclusion; but the latter, which is said to contain "an account of the Prime Minister and the learned and religious of *that* (his) time," is not contained in the volume I have examined, which ends with a promise to write more concerning the Prime Minister, whose praises he is sounding The Paris copy is also deficient in this Conclusion, but both contain an account of the famous men of Aurangzeb's time at the close of his reign, but no other reign, either before or after it, has any biographical notice of contemporaries

CONTENTS

The *Farhatu-n Názirín* is very rare in India. I know of only one copy, and that is in the possession of Nawáb Takí Khán of Rohilkhand. From the numerous erasures and interlineations I should judge it to be an autograph There is also a copy in England which was available to Dr Lee, for he quotes it at p 130 of his translation of the *Travels of Ibn Batúta,* but he does not notice it in his Preface, where he describes the other works which he quotes, nor does he mention the Library in which it is to be found There is a copy in the British Museum, No 6942, and one also in the Royal Library at Paris (Fonds Gentil 47, small folio of 1022 pages, of 17 lines each)

SIZE—Large 8vo, 520 pages of 19 lines in each, closely written

EXTRACTS

In the third year of Ahmad Sháh's reign, corresponding with A H 1160, Ahmad Sháh Durrání, with the renewed intention of conquering Hindústán, arrived in the neighbourhood of Sodrá, and Mír Mu'ínu-l Mulk, *alias* Mír Mannú, left Láhore with an army for the purpose of expelling him, but, being unable to take the field against him, he intrenched himself. The nobles and *mirzas* of Dehlí hoped that Mír Mannú might be destroyed, and after this desirable event they would take measures against the Abdálí They would thus extirpate the thorn which the race of the Túránís had planted in their side The Mír requested assistance from the Emperor of Dehlí and his minister for four months, but all in vain He was consequently obliged to sue for peace, and he persuaded the Durrání to return to Kandahár by assigning to him four *mahals,* viz Siálkot, Parsarúr, Gujarát, and Aurangábád, which had belonged to Kábul from the time of 'Álamgír[1] The Durrání, having reached Kandahár, collected a large force, and returned with the intention of conquering Hindústán.

In 1164 A H. (1750-1 A D) Ahmad came by forced marches to

[1] Compare Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs,* p 102

Láhore, and began to devastate the country In the month of Rabí'u-l awwal he crossed the Chináb, and encamped between Sodrá and Wazírábád. Mu'ínu-l Mulk also, at the head of a formidable army, crossed the Rávi, which flows under the city of Láhore, and pitched his tents in front of the invader. For some time there was continued firing with guns and matchlocks, and the whole country between the Rávi and Chináb was desolated by the ravages and massacres committed by the Durránís In those days the writer of these leaves was engaged in learning the Kurán by heart In the end, neither party gained any perceptible advantage The Durránís suddenly broke up their quarters, with the intention of crossing the Rávi, and plundering the district and city of Láhore Mír Mannú marched back in alarm to the city, barricaded all the streets, and strengthened the interior defences Every day there were skirmishes, till at last the supply of provisions was closed on all sides. There was such a dearth of corn and grass that with the utmost difficulty two *sírs* of wheat flour could be had for a rupee, to say nothing of rice To procure for horses other forage than rushes or house-thatch was next to an impossibility. This obliged Mír Mannú and his army to take the field He sallied out with his right and left wings, and fanned the embers of war into a flame The chief agent of Mír Mannú was a man named Kora Mal, who had been a corn-chandler, and could scarcely earn his bread, but had now become master of immense riches, and had obtained kettle-drums and flags, with the governorship of Multán With him, Adína Beg Khán Bahrám Jang[1] had for certain reasons

[1] [This Adína or Dína Beg Khán, whose name will frequently recur in these pages, was by caste an Aráín, and son of a man named Channú, an inhabitant of the village of Sarakpúr, near Láhore He was brought up in a Mughal family, and in early life spent a good deal of his time at Alláhábád, Cawnpore, and Bajwára He became a soldier, but seems to have thrown aside that profession for revenue work He was an able man and a good accountant, and he began as collector of the village of Kanak near Lúdhiyána, from which humble position he advanced till he was made Governor of Sultánpúr, an office which he held at the time of Nádir Sháh's invasion He died without heirs at Khánpúr near Hoshiyárpur, where a fine tomb was erected over his remains These particulars are extracted from a little work called *Ahwál*

taken some cause of offence, and retired to his own government in the (Jálandhar) Doáb. Adína Beg now reluctantly joined Mu'ínu-l Mulk against the Durránís, and, availing himself of his opportunity in the midst of battle, instructed one of the Afgháns of Kusúr to put an end to the existence of that unworthy wretch Kora Mal by a musket-ball[1] In consequence of his death, the army of Mír Mannú suffered a complete defeat, and he was obliged to send for his horse, and, advancing with some of his personal attendants, proceeded to kiss the threshold of the Durrání, who honoured him with the grant of a valuable *khil'at* and the title of *Farzand Khan*

Reign of 'A'lamgir II

In the third year of the reign of 'A'lamgír II, the minister Ghâzíu-d dín Khán, having released Wálá Gauhar, the eldest son of 'A'lamgír, from prison, took him towards Láhore He went as far as Lúdhiyána, and then returned, and having sent for the daughter of Mu'ínu-l Mulk from Láhore, he married her He deprived the Emperor of all power whatever, and conducted all the affairs of the State A misunderstanding arose during this year between him and Najíbu-d daula, which at this very day is the cause of all the disorganization which is ruining the country

Najíbu-d daula, having found means of secretly communicating with the Abdálí, invited him to come to Hindústán Accordingly, in the beginning of the fourth year of the reign, he came to Dehlí, and, having ravaged it, proceeded to Mattra, where he massacred the inhabitants, broke the temples, and having plundered the town of immense wealth in property and cash, he cut the

Adína Beg Khan, which is of course eulogistic, but the stories it tells of him show that he was shrewd, artful, unscrupulous and sometimes cruel, as when he condemned a confectioner, who had declined to supply him with preserves, to be boiled alive, "as he boiled his own jam" The poor wretch was saved by the intercession of Adína's guests, but "felt a burning pain in his body ever afterwards" Boiling or half boiling, seems to have been a torture in use at this period]

[1] This is opposed to the common account, which represents Kora Mal as killed honourably in action See Prinsep's *Ranjeet Singh*, p 12, and Cunningham's *Hist. of the Sikhs*, p. 103

very nose of Hindústán, and returned to Láhore, where he gave his youngest son the title of Tímúr Sháh; and left Jahán Khán there with the designation of minister *Wazíru-l mamálik* Gh※zíu-d dín Khán marched his army into the provinces of Alláhábád and Oudh, but returned to Dehlí without meeting with any success. Najíb Khán and Kutb Sháh, having collected a force, plundered the house of Gházíu-d dín Khán, carried off all the cash, furniture and jewels which were found in it, and also dishonoured his *zenana* Gházíu-d dín, assembling a body of men, sat watching the opportunity of vengeance, but in vain

Adína Beg Khán, being sorely pressed by the army of the Abdális, invited Malhár, Raghú and other Mahratta chiefs from the Dakhin, gave them fifty *lacs* of rupees, and proceeded to attack the officers of the Abdálí He first overcame the *Faujdar* of Sirhind,[1] whose name was 'Abdu-s Samad Khán, and who was stationed in that city with a body of 20,000 Rohillas, horse and foot After subjugating the whole of that district, Adína Beg proceeded to Láhore When he reached that city, Jahán Khán, with Prince Tímúr, pitched his tents at Kachchí-saráí, and having intrenched himself, prepared for action Adína Beg Khán joined his forces with those of the Mahrattas, and Jahán Khán, having sustained a defeat, fled towards Peshávar with two hundred horse, leaving all his treasure and property to be plundered by the enemy's army.

Adína Beg Khán, on the achievement of this unexpected victory, ordered the happy occasion to be celebrated by beat of drums. He dismissed the Mahratta army to Dehlí, and himself proceeded to Batálá, where he fixed his head-quarters He then turned his attention to the appointment of governors for the provinces of Multán, Thattá, and Láhore. Soon after this he died a natural death, on the 11th of Muharram, in the fifth year of 'Álamgír's reign, and the province of Láhore again came into the possession of the Sikhs.

Gházíu-d dín Khán sent Jhankú Mahratta against Najíbu-d

[1] The author writes it Shaharind

daula, who, being unable to oppose him, departed to Sakartál on the banks of the Ganges, where he fixed his batteries, and prepared for resistance. He sent his envoy to Ahmad Sháh Abdálí to solicit assistance. The army of Jhankú invested him closely, and after four months' fighting, it crossed the Ganges near Hardwár, where the river was found fordable, and overran the country. Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula, son of Wazíru-l mamálik Mansúru-l Mulk Safdar Jang, who was coming to aid Najíbu-d daula, arrived soon after, and expelled the Mahrattas from the territory of the Afgháns Gházíu-d dín Khán, on receiving the news of Shujá'u-d daula's arrival, marched from Dehlí and joined the camp of Jhankú He then directed some of his *sardárs* to go to the fort of Sháh-Jahánábád, and put 'Azízu-d dín ('Álamgír) to death

In the mean time Ahmad Sháh Abdálí reached the environs of Sirhind, and defeated the Mahratta army which was quartered in that district On receiving the intelligence, Jhankú advanced to oppose the Abdálí Najíb Khán, finding an opportunity, joined the Abdálí's camp at Saháranpúr, by forced marches. Jhankú, having sustained a repulse at that place, came to Dehlí, where he fought a very severe battle, but was at last obliged to fly.

The period of 'Álamgír the Second's reign is said to be six years, and that of his life about sixty The events above related took place in A H 1174 (1760-1 A D)

I will minutely relate the Abdálí's victory over the Dakhin army, when we enter upon his history in detail. I content myself here with giving a concise narrative of it as follows When Jhankú sustained a defeat from the army of the Abdálí, and fled away with Gházíu-d dín Khán, the Abdálí sacked Dehlí and encamped at Anúpnagar. Shujá'u-d daula also came there and kissed his threshold After the rainy season, Bháo Wiswás Rái, with the son of the Rája his master, marched from the Dakhin at the head of 200,000 horse, 20,000 foot, and 300 guns. He entered the city of Dehlí, and having taken the fort from the officers of the Abdálí, proceeded to Kunjpúra and

Sirhind 'Abdu-s Samad Khán and seven other officers who were stationed at the former place, with a body of 20,000 horse and foot, offered resistance, and after a battle of about one hour, were all slain. Bháo plundered Kunjpúra, sent those who were taken alive to prison, and pitched his tents on the banks of the Jumna

Ahmad Sháh, on hearing this sad news, writhed like a serpent, and kindling the fire of anger, moved towards the enemy Although the river flowed with great impetuosity, yet he forded it at Bághpat, and engaged with the enemy, who, not being able to withstand him in the field, retreated to Pánípat, and fixed their batteries there. The Abdálí besieged their camp, and when the siege had lasted five months, the enemy one morning left their intrenchments, and drew out their army in battle array. The fire of battle raged from early morn and was not extinguished till evening At last the gale of victory blew over the royal flags, and all the Dakhin host was cut down by the swords of the Muhammadan warriors. Of their chiefs none except Malhár saved his life The dead lay strewn shoulder to shoulder from the plain of Pánípat to Dehlí About ninety thousand persons, male and female, were taken prisoners, and obtained eternal happiness by embracing the Muhammadan faith Indeed, never was such a splendid victory achieved from the time of Amír Mahmúd Subuktigín to the present day by any of the Sultáns but by this Emperor of Emperors After this conquest, he appointed Wazíru-l mamálik Shujá'u-d daula to the office of *Wazir*, Najíb Khán to that of *Bakhshi*, and having granted tracts of land to the other Afgháns, and dismissed them to their respective abodes, returned himself to Kandahár

The history of this sovereign will be given in full detail in its proper place.

When Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula arrived in his province, he went to kiss the threshold of His Majesty Wálá Gauhar Sháh 'Álam, and obtained the high rank of Prime Minister I am now going to relate a full account of this great Emperor and his wise Minister.

Sháh 'A'lam, son of 'A'lamgír the Second.

That prince of noble extraction, the jewel of the crown of sovereignty, fought a battle with Ghází-u-d dín Khán in the fifth year of his venerable father's reign, and having left Dehlí, proceeded to the eastward None of the Afghán chiefs received him hospitably, through fear of Ghází-u-d dín Khán He was obliged to resort to that hero of the world (Shujá'u-d daula) in the fort of Jalálábád, where he was respectfully and hospitably received After some days' halt, he proceeded to invade Bengal Muhammad Kulí Khán, Governor of the province of Alláhábád, and Zainu-l 'A'bidín Khán, joined him He allowed them to remain with the camp, and ordered them to raise an army

In a few days a force of about one hundred thousand horsemen was collected, and he went to take Patna 'Azímábád. After the city was besieged, and much blood was shed, Míran, son of Ja'far 'Alí Khán, Governor of the province of Bengal, assembled a large force, and having invited the Firingí armies to assist him, waged war with the Emperor Though the garrison was on the point of being overpowered and Míran of taking to flight, yet, through the disaffection of the nobles in whom the Emperor confided, and the want of treasure, which can never be amassed without possessing dominion (dominion and treasure being twins), great disaffection arose in the Emperor's army Many, from fear of scarcity of provisions, went to their homes, and others who had no shame joined with Rám Náráin and Míran. The army of the Emperor met with a terrible defeat Just afterwards Míran was killed by a stroke of lightning, and peace was concluded by the agency of the Christians.

Muhammad Kulí Khán came to Alláhábád, and the news of 'Azízu-d dín 'A'lamgír's death reached Sháh 'A'lam in Patna, on which he was much afflicted in his mind, but ascribing the event to the wise dispensations of Providence, he sat upon the throne of sovereignty on the 5th of Jumáda-l awwal. Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula, after a few days, came to the border of his territories, and

having invited the Emperor from 'Azímábád, obtained the honour of an interview, and was exalted to the hereditary office of *Wazír*, and afterwards accompanied him to Alláhábád. It is through the means of that great man that the name of Sáhib Kirán Gúrgán (Tímúr) still remains; otherwise, the Abdálí would not have allowed one of his descendants to survive.

The Emperor now fixed his residence at Alláhábád, kept the eldest son of Shuja'u-d daula in his Court as deputy of his father, whom he permitted to return to the province of Oudh, which is his *jagír* and *altamghá* As it is at this time the 1180th year of the Hijra,[1] it is therefore the twelfth year of His Majesty's reign, which commenced from the month of Jumáda-l awwal May God render His Majesty kind towards all wise and learned men, towards the poor, and towards all his subjects and may he give him grace to walk in the paths of the Holy Law!

To relate in detail the events of Sháh 'Álam's reign would require a separate history The writer contents himself therefore with giving the above succinct account of him

Nawábs of Oudh

Burhánu-l Mulk, in consideration of the valuable services he had rendered to the Emperor, was elevated to the rank of five thousand personal and the command of five thousand horse. He also obtained the title of *Bahadur Jang* and the governorship of Ágra; and greatly exerted himself in subverting and destroying the rebels. When Mahárája Jai Singh Sawáí was sent against Chúráman Ját, the governorship of the province of Oudh was conferred on Burhánu-l Mulk, and with it that title He took such measures that no trace of revolters remained within the limits of his province. This is well known and requires no comment

At the time of the invasion of Nádir Sháh, he came to Court with all haste, and although dissuaded by the Emperor and the nobles, yet he fought very boldly against the Sháh. After the action he visited the Sháh, and was received with great

[1] There is an error here—1184 A.H (1770 A D) is meant

honour. Distressed beyond measure at the misfortunes which afflicted the times, he poisoned himself,[1] leaving Safdar Jang Abú-l Mansúr Khán, his sister's son, as his successor, in whose forehead the light of greatness shone, and in whose appearance the marks of dignity and grandeur were conspicuous At the time of the invasion of Ahmad Sháh Abdálí, who killed Nádir Sháh, and had come down with a numerous army to conquer Hindústán, Safdar Jang, with great intrepidity, stood firm to his ground, and, with a view to preserve his honour and fame, fought very severe battles with that hardy and stubborn enemy Although Kamru-d dín Khán, the minister, had fallen, and the son of Rája Jai Singh Sawáí had fled from the field, although at the same time the news of the death of the Emperor was received, and the royal army was routed and dispersed, yet he repulsed and defeated him After the flight of the Abdálí, he placed Ahmad Sháh upon the throne, and assuming the office of *wazír*, brought him to Delhí, and turned his attention to the administration of the Government As at all times the creators of disturbance were at their work, a misunderstanding arose between him and the Emperor For some time he was engaged in punishing and subduing the insurgents, and tried to correct the conduct of the Emperor, who, being addicted to luxury and pleasure, took no care of his duties[2] But seeing that it was all in vain, he left the Emperor, and went to the province which had been assigned to him After some days he expired, and was succeeded by his son, the most upright, accomplished, and brave Jalálu-d dín Haidar Shujá'u-d daula, who in the time of Sháh 'Álam obtained the office of *wazir*, and excelled all competitors in wealth and rank The son was even superior to the father, and an account of him shall be given hereafter

[1] The *Ma-asir u-l umara* says he died of his wounds Dow (vol ii p 425) gives a romantic account of his being induced to poison himself through Ásaf Jáh's duplicity The *Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirin* says he died of a mortification in the foot (Briggs, vol i p 429) [See *suprà*, pages 64, 89]

[2] See the admirable letter of remonstrance addressed to him by Nizámu-l Mulk, *Asiatic Miscellany*, vol i p 482

CVI

TÁRÍKH-I FAIZ BAKHSH

OF

SHEO PARSHÁD

THIS is a history of the Afgháns of Rohilkhand, and details the transactions between them and the Nawábs of Oudh with such copiousness as to render it worth translation. It was compiled at the desire of General Kirkpatrick in A H 1190 (A D 1776), by Sheo Parshád, who gives the following account of the reasons which induced him to undertake the task He says that one day in camp, between Bilgrám and Malláwan, he was introduced in Colonel Collins's tent by Captain Keelpatrick (?) to his brother (General ?) Kirkpatrick, who had lately arrived from Chunár, and the author was so much pleased with his affability and condescension, that he offered his services to that officer, who desired him to give an account of the Afgháns of Katehr, from the time of Nawáb 'Alí Muhammad Khán, when they first acquired power, to the affair of Laldong, in order that he might translate it into English, and forward it to the King of England (Farang). When he returned to the tent, he had a sleepless night, and he declares that if he were to tell all the thoughts which occupied and distracted his mind during that night, a volume would not suffice Finding on the morrow that General Kirkpatrick was not able fully to comprehend his verbal history, he determined upon writing it, in order that that gentleman might at his leisure translate it with the aid of his *munshi.* He accordingly set to work to compose his narrative, and finished it in March, A D. 1776.

The history by Faiz Bakhsh, of Faizábád, is also known by the name of *Táríkh-i Faiz Bakhsh*, and as both of them treat of the same period, there is great probability of confounding the two works The work, though written by a Hindú, not only opens with the usual laud of the Deity, but proceeds to celebrate Muhammad, and the Chahár Yár besides

SIZE—8vo., 388 pages of 13 lines each

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CVII

HADÍKATU-L AKÁLÍM

OF

MURTAZÁ HUSAIN

This is an admirable compilation, the celebrity of which is by no means in proportion to its merits It is written on the model of the *Haft-Iklim*, but is far superior to the work of Ahmad Rázi and all others I have seen, both in accuracy and research Besides the geographical details of the work, there are various minor histories of the events succeeding the decline of the Mughal monarchy, and of the Mahrattas, Rohillas, and the Nawábs of Oudh, etc., which convey much information, derived not only from extensive reading, but close personal observation

The author, Murtazá Husain, known as Shaikh Illáh Yár 'Usmáni of Bilgrám, says of himself, that from 1142 to 1187 A H (1729 to 1773), i e from the times of Muhammad Sháh to the middle of the reign of Sháh 'Álam II, he had the honour of being employed under the following nobles of India 1. Saiyid Sarbuland Khán Túní, 2 Saiyid Sa'ádat Khán Naishapúrí, 3 Muhammad Kásim Khán; 4 'Alí Kulí Khán 'Abbási *shashanqushti* or six-fingered, 5 Ahmad Khán, 6 Muhammad Khán Bangash of Farrukhábád, besides several others. On this account the opportunity was afforded him of being an actor in the scenes in which they were engaged He was subsequently introduced, in A H 1190 (1776 A D), when he was in his forty-seventh year, by his friend Rajab 'Alí, to Captain Jonathan Scott, Persian Secretary to Warren Hastings, who immediately ap-

pointed him one of his *munshis*, "than which, in the opinion of English gentlemen, there is no higher office; and receiving encouragement from his employer's intelligence and love of learning, he was induced to undertake this work."

The *Hadíkatu-l Akálím* contains a description of the Terrestrial Globe, its inhabited quarter, and the seven grand divisions of the latter. A short account of the wonders and curiosities of every country, a brief account of the Prophets, great kings, philosophers, and celebrated and great men of many countries

"Quotations," says the author, "from every existing work have been sometimes copied verbatim into this work, and sometimes, when the style of the original was too figurative, alterations have been made in the extracts, my object being that my readers might acquire some knowledge both of the ancient and modern style of the Persian language, and by observing its changes should be led to reflect that every sublunary thing is subject to change" The reason is somewhat curious, especially as that moral might be much more easily learnt from the political vicissitudes he undertakes to record

The author moreover confesses that he has an eye to his own interest in this compilation "If the work shall ever be perused by the intelligent and learned English, it is expected that, taking into their consideration the troubles and old age of the author, they will always do him the favour of maintaining their kind regards towards him and his descendants, especially as this was the first Persian work compiled under their auspices, which gave a history of the establishment of the British Empire" This supplication has been granted, and his son has been raised to high office under the British Government. He concludes by saying that this work was composed when he was in his sixtieth year, and was submitted for the inspection of Captain Scott and Colonel Polier before being engrossed.

It is probable that this work is amongst those used by Capt. Scott in his account of Aurangzeb's successors, but as in the two copies of his history which I have examined, the promised list of

MS. authorities is not given, there is no knowing what were the materials which he used as the chief sources of his information.

SIZE—Large 8vo., 888 pages of 25 lines each.

EXTRACT

The British, after the rainy season, in the year 1178 A H (1764 A D), marched upon Baksar, and in a pitched battle defeated Shujá'u-d daula, who retreated to Lucknow. The conquerors advanced upon Alláhábád, and laid siege to its strong fort, which surrendered after a short resistance , whereupon the Nawáb was obliged to abandon all his dominions The British had now under their entire control the conquered provinces, but they did not kill or plunder their subjects ; nor did the rent-free holders and pensioners find any cause to complain Shujá'u-d daula courted the alliance and support of Ahmad Khán Bangash, ruler of Farrukhábád, Háfiz Rahmat Khán, and Dúndí Khán, chiefs of Rohilla, Bareilly, and Anwalá, which they all declined Then he repaired to Kálpi, but he was driven thence by the British.

At this time the Emperor of Dehlí made an alliance with the British, and the district of Alláhábád was assigned to him for his residence He agreed to grant to the Company possession of the Bengal province, in return for which he was to receive annually twenty-five *lacs* of rupees Moreover, seventy-five *lacs* were given to him as a present After some years Muníru-d daula, revising the treaty, increased the payment to twenty-seven *lacs* of rupees ; but when the Emperor returned to Dehlí, the stipulated payments were withheld. Shujá'u-d daula, making peace with the English, was restored to his dominions of Oudh, where he soon gathered great strength. In a few years Ahmad Khán Bangash, Dúndí Khán, and other famous Rohilla chiefs, departed this life, and of all the Rohilla chiefs there remained not one to raise the standard of sovereignty and Islám, except Háfiz Rahmat Khán, from Sháh-Jáhánpúr, Bareilly, and Pílíbhít, to Sambhal Shujá'u-d daula, with the aid of the English, invaded the territories of Háfiz Rahmat, who was

killed in battle; but the victory was entirely owing to British valour The Rohilla country then came into the power of Shujá'u-d daula, and great distress fell upon it, for it was given up to his unrestrained desires. At length the Nawáb's excessive indulgence brought on him a severe disease. By the British directions he made a treaty with Faizu-llah Khán, son of 'Alí Muhammad Khán Rohilla, who obtained under it his hereditary estates of Rámpúr. Shujá'u-d daula, still labouring under his tormenting disease, removed from Laldong to Oudh, and there died His son, Mirza Mání, succeeded him, with the title of *A'safu-d daula.*

CVIII

JÁM-I JAHÁN-NUMÁ

OF

KUDRATU-LLAH

THE "WORLD-REFLECTING MIRROR" was written by Shaikh Kudratu-llah Sadíkí, an inhabitant of Maví, near the town of Kábar in Rohilkhand He quotes several authorities of the ordinary stamp, as well as all those mentioned in the *Khulásatu-t Tawaríkh*, which he would evidently wish the incautious reader to believe were consulted by him also in original

There is nothing novel in the work, but the Biographies at the end are useful. It was commenced in the year 1191 A.H. (1777 A.D), and bears the same date at the end, but this is evidently a mistake, for, at the close of the Dehlí history, events are brought down to the year 1193 A H. (1779 A D), "when twenty years had elapsed of the reign of Sháh 'Álam, and in every corner of the kingdom people aspired to exercise independence. Alláhábád, Oudh, Etáwah, Shukohábád, and the whole country of the Afgháns (Rohillas) are in the possession of the Nawáb Wazír Ásafu-d daula, and the whole country of Bengal has been subjected by the strong arm of the Firingís The country of the Játs is under Najaf Khán, and the Dakhin is partly under Nizám 'Alí Khán, partly under the Mahrattas, and partly under Haidar Náik and Muhammad 'Alí Khán Sirúju-d daula of Gopamau. The Sikhs hold the whole *súba* of the Panjáb, and Láhore, and Multán, and Jainagar and other places are held by Zábita Khán. In this manner other *zamíndárs* have

established themselves here and there. All the world is waiting in anxious expectation of the appearance of Imám Mahdí, who is to come in the latter days. Sháh 'Álam sits in the palace of Dehlí, and has no thought beyond the gratification of his own pleasure, while his people are deeply sorrowful and grievously oppressed even unto death." It is to be regretted that these desponding anticipations are not occasionally reverted to by the present fortunate generation.

The author gives us some information respecting himself at the close of his work. He tells us that his progenitors arrived in India as early as the time of Pirthí Ráj, and that he had a large body of foreign cavalry under his command at Sonpat Some of his ancestors are buried in Sonpat and Ajmír, where they died waging holy wars. In course of time they moved into Rohilkhand, and Rája Táj Khán, of the Katehrzái clan, bestowed Maví and twelve other villages in Kábar upon the family. There they have continued to reside, and amongst them have appeared several prodigies of excellence and learning. In the course of their genealogy, he states many anachronisms and other improbabilities, which throw doubt upon the correctness of the family tree

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The only copy which I know of this work is a very clean and correct one, in the library of Sa'ídu-d dín Ahmad Khán, a gentleman of Murádábád.

Size—4to, 1378 pages of 21 lines each

CIX.

MA-A'SIRU-L UMARA'

OF

SHA'H NAWA'Z KHA'N SAMSA'MU-D DAULA

[This work may be called the Peerage of the Mughal Empire.] It consists of a Biographical Dictionary of the illustrious men who have flourished in Hindústán and the Dakhin under the house of Tímúr from Akbar to 1155 A H.

["Amír Kamálu-d dín, the fifth ancestor of Sháh Nawáz Khán, came from Khwáf to Hindústán in the reign of Akbar, whose service he entered, and his descendants held in succession some of the highest offices of State under the succeeding Emperors Sháh Nawáz Khán, whose original name was 'Abdu-r Razzák al Husainí, was born at Láhore in 1111 A.H (1699 A D). Early in life he went to Aurangábád, where most of his relatives resided, and he was not long afterwards appointed *Díwán* of Birár. Having incurred the displeasure of Nizámu-l Mulk A'saf Jáh, by favouring the revolt of his son Násir Jang, he was disgraced, and went into retirement. It was during this period that he composed the *Ma-ásiru-l Umará*. After he had passed five years in seclusion, A'saf Jáh, in 1160 A H. (1747 A.D), shortly before his death, took him again into favour, and reinstated him in the *Díwání* of Birár. Sháh Nawáz Khán enjoyed the highest honours under Násir Jang, the son and successor of A'saf Jáh, and subsequently became the chief minister of Salábat Jáng, the *Súbadár* of the Dakhin, and played a conspicuous part in the affairs of that portion of India, and the

struggles for supremacy between the English and French. He was assassinated in 1171 A.H. (1757 A.D.). Ghulám 'Alí implicates Bussy in his murder, but the charge appears to be without foundation, the native historian being no doubt misled by his prejudices."]

The work was commenced by Sháh Nawáz Khán Samsámu-d daula, but he left it unfinished, and in the turbulent scenes which succeeded his death, his house was plundered, and his manuscript scattered in various directions. It was considered as lost, till Mír Ghulám 'Alí, surnamed Ázád, the author of two biographical works, the *Sarv-i Ázád* and *Khazána-i Amira*,[1] and a friend of Sháh Nawáz Khán, collected the greater portion of the missing leaves, and restored the work to its entire form with a few additions, amongst which was the life of the author,[2] and a preface, which gives an account of the work.

["Ghulám 'Alí was a poet and a biographer of poets. He was born in 1116 A.H. (1704 A.D.), but the date of his death is not known. He was at one time attached to Samsámu-d daula in the capacity of amanuensis. He travelled into various parts of India, and visited Mecca and Medína, and, according to the *Khulásatu-l Afkár*, 'after his journeys and pilgrimage he was much honoured, during his residence at Aurangábád, by the *Súbadárs*, and associated in friendly intimacy with the sons of Nizámu-l Mulk Ásaf Jáh; yet with these temptations he never engaged in the affairs of the world.'

"The biographies comprised in the first edition of the work extend to Ghulám 'Alí's own time, and are 261 in number, including the life of the author by the editor."]

At a subsequent period the son of Samsámu-d daula, named 'Abdu-l Hai Khán, completed the work in its present form, giving insertion to his father's original Introduction, and to the Intro-

[1] Though professedly a Biography of Persian Poets, the *Khazána-i Amira* contains a very full account of the transactions of a great portion of the last century, the author taking every opportunity of interweaving historical matter in his narrative. The passages relative to the Nawábs of Oudh occupy about one-fifth of the entire work.

[2] Translated by H. H. Wilson, in the *Oriental Quarterly Magazine*, vol. iv.

duction of Mír Ghulám 'Alí. So the work as it at present stands contains ["The Preface by the Editor.—The Original Preface of Sháh Nawáz Khán.—The Preface by Ghulám 'Alí.—The Life of Sháh Nawáz Khán by Ghulám 'Alí.—An Index to the Biographies.—The Biographies arranged in alphabetical order.—Conclusion, containing a short life of the Editor, 'Abdu-l Hai Khán."]

["The biographies in the second edition are 731 in number, giving an increase of 569 lives not contained in the former edition They are very ably written, and are full of important historical detail; and as they include the lives of all the most eminent men who flourished in the time of the Mughal Emperors of the House of Tímúr down to 1194 A H. (1780 A.D), the *Ma-ásiru-l umará* must always hold its place as one of the most valuable books of reference for the student of Indian History. 'Abdu-l Hai enumerates no less than thirty histories and biographical treatises from which he has drawn the materials for his portion of the work "]

Colonel Stewart has curiously confused the names of the authors of the *Ma-ásiru-l umará* He has completely reversed the relations of father and son, observing, "This book was compiled by 'Abdu-l Hai bin 'Abdu-r Razzák Sháh Nawáz Khán, and finished by his son Samsámu-d daula A D. 1779 "[1] He has repeated the error in the list of authorities prefixed to his History of Bengal He appears to have been misled by the latter nobleman's different appellations, his name being 'Abdu-r Razzák, and his titles successively Sháh Nawáz Khán and Samsámu-d daula

["'Abdu-l Hai Khán was born in 1142 A H (1729 A D), and in 1162 A H. (1748 A D) was elevated to the rank of Khán by Nizám Násir Jang, who also bestowed upon him the *Díwání* of Birár In the time of Salábat Jang he became commandant of Daulatábád. On his father's murder in 1171 A H (1757 A D.), he was imprisoned in the fortress of Golkonda, but he was subse-

[1] Cat. of Tippoo's Library, p 19

quently released in 1173 A.H. (1759 A.D.) by Nizámu-d daula Ásaf Jáh II, who treated him with great distinction, and reinstated him in his paternal title as Samsámu-l Mulk. He died in 1196 A.H. (1781 A.D.). 'Abdu-l Hai's title varies in a rather perplexing way. It was at first Shamsu-d daula Diláwar Jang. When he was released from prison, he received his father's title, and became Samsámu-d daula Samsám Jang. In his Appendix to the *Ma-ásiru-l umara* he calls himself Samsámu-l Mulk, and gives his poetical name as *Sarim*. Mr Bland refers to a work in which he is called Samsámu-l Mulk Diláwar Jang." [1]]

SIZE—Fol. 17 in. by 11¼, 421 pages, 25 lines in a page.

EXTRACTS.

Mahábat Khán Khan-khanán Sipah-salar.

Zamána Beg was son of Ghuyúr Beg Kábulí, and belonged to the Saiyids of the pure Razwiya stock. Khán-zamán, son of Mahábat Khán, in a history which he wrote, traces the descent of his ancestors from the Prophet Moses. They were all men of position and wealth. Ghuyúr Beg came from Shíráz to Kábul, and settled among one of the tribes of that neighbourhood. He was enrolled among the military followers of Mirza Muhammad Hakím, and on the death of the Mirza he obtained employment in the service of the Emperor Akbar, when he distinguished himself greatly in the campaign against Chítor. Zamána Beg in his youth was entered among the *ahadis* of Prince Salím (Jahángír), and, having rendered some acceptable services, he, in a short time, received a suitable *mansab*, and was made *Bakhshi* of the *shágird-peshas*. When Rája Uchaina made a treaty and agreement with Mu'azzam Khán Fathpúrí at Alláhábád, and came to wait upon the Prince, the city and its environs swarmed with his numerous followers. Whenever he went out, all men, high and low, gazed with wondering eyes at his followers. This annoyed the Prince, who said one night in private, "Why should I be troubled with this man?" Zamána Beg said that if permission were given, he

[1] A large portion of this article has been taken from *Morley's Catalogue*.

would that very night settle his business. Having received directions, he went alone with a servant at midnight to the dwelling of the Rája, who was drunk and fast asleep He left his servant at the door, and telling the Rája's servants to wait outside, because he had a royal message to deliver, he went into the tent, cut off the Rája's head, wrapped it in a shawl, and came out Telling the servants that no one must go in, because he had an answer to bring, he took the head and threw it down before the Prince. Orders were immediately given for plundering the Rája's followers. When these discovered what had happened, they dispersed, and all the Rája's treasure and animals were confiscated to the State Zamána Beg received the title of Mahábat Khán, and at the beginning of the reign of Jahángír he was raised to a *mansab* of 3000, and sent in command of an army against the Rána [1] * *

Mu'tamad Khán

Mu'tamad Khán Muhammad Sharíf was a native of Persia, of obscure station. On his coming to India his good fortune caused his introduction to Jannat Makání (Jahángír) In the third year of the reign he was honoured with the title of Mu'tamad Khán He was *Bakhshí* of the *Ahadís* for a long time In the ninth year died Sulaimán Beg Fidái Khán, who was *Bakhshí* of the army of Prince Sháh Jahán in the campaign against the Rána. Mu'tamad Khán was then appointed to the office In the eleventh year, when the Prince was deputed to make arrangements in the Dakhin, the office of *Bakhshí* was again entrusted to him * * Although he had a reputation for his knowledge of history, yet it appears from his work *Ikbál-náma Jahángírí*, which is written in an easy flowing style, that he had very little skill in historical writing, as, notwithstanding his holding the office of *Ahad-navísí*, he has not only left out many trifling matters, but has even narrated imperfectly important facts.

[1] [The subsequent career of this nobleman occupies a leading place in the history of the reigns of Jahángír and Sháh Jahán, *supra* Vol VI]

CX

TAZKIRATU-L UMARÁ

OF

KEWAL RÁM.

This is a Biographical account of the nobles of Hindústán, from the time of Akbar to Bahádur Sháh, by Kewal Rám, son of Raghunáth Dás Agarwála, inhabitant of Kasna in Bulandshahr, written in the year 1194 A H (1780 A D). It gives an account of all dignitaries above the *mansab* of two hundred, and of the Hindú Rájas who distinguished themselves during that period It contains very little more than the patents of nobility, privileges and insignia bestowed upon each person, and the occasion of his promotion It is altogether a very meagre compilation compared with the *Ma-asiru-l Umara*

Size—8vo, 701 pages of 15 lines each

CXI.

SAWÁNIH-I AKBARÍ

OF

AMÍR HAIDAR HUSAINÍ.

[THIS is a modern history of the Emperor Akbar, written by Amír Haidar Husaini Wásití of Bilgrám, whose ancestors came from Wásit in Arabia The work was compiled at the instance of "Mufakhkharu-d daula Bahádur Shaukat-i Jang William Kirkpatrick," and so must have been written towards the close of the last century. It bears no date, and unfortunately extends only to the end of the twenty-fourth year of the reign. The author states that he derived his materials from the *Akbar-náma* of Abú-l Fazl, the *Muntakhab* of Badáúní, the *Tabakat* of Nizámu-d dín Ahmad, Firishta, the *Akbar-náma* of Illáhdád Faizí Sihrindi, the *Ma-ásiru-l umara* and other works He adds that he used the four parts of the *Insha-e Abú-l Fazl*, and especially mentions the fourth part, expressing his surprise that it has been so little referred to by historians The *Inshá* is a well-known work, and has often been printed, but in three parts only; so, Mr Blochmann says, "it looks as if Amír Haidar's copy of the fourth part was unique" But a reference made by Sir H. Elliot in p. 413, Vol V of this work, shows that he had access to this rare portion of the work The *Akbar-nama* of Abú-l Fazl is the authority mainly relied upon, and the author says he "has omitted those superfluities of language which Abú-l Fazl employed for rhetorical purposes."

"This work," adds Mr Blochmann, "is perhaps the only critical historical work written by a native," and he particularly recommends it to the notice of European historians.[1]

SIZE—Large 8vo., 843 pages of 15 lines each.]

[1] [*Áín-i Akbarí*, vol i. pp xxxi. and 316]

CXII

SIYARU-L MUTA-AKHKHIRÍN

OF

GHULÁM HUSAIN KHÁN.

[The first part of this work gives a general description of Hindústán, of its provinces, cities, products and people. It also gives a summary of the ancient history as derived from the Sanskrit works translated by Faizí and others It then notices the rise of the Muhammadan power, and adds a succinct history of the reigns of the various sovereigns down to the death of Aurangzeb. This constitutes the first volume of the work, and its contents are generally identical with those of the *Khulasatu-t Tawárikh* The author has been severely condemned by Col Lees [1] for glaring plagiarism in having stated that he derived his matter from the work of an old *munshi*, without ever mentioning the name of the author of the *Khulásatu-t Tawárikh* It has been shown by Sir H M. Elliot, in No LXXXIV, that the *Khulásatu-t Tawárikh* itself is a gross piracy of an anonymous work called *Mukhtasiru-t Tawárikh*, and it may have been this very work that Ghulám Husain used and referred to as the production of "some old *munshi*"]

[It is the second volume of the work that has become famous, and to which the title *Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirín*,[2] "Review of Modern Times," is particularly applicable] This consists of a

[1] [Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, N S vol III]

[2] [Writers disagree as to the exact reading and meaning of the title It may be *Sairu-l Muta-akhkhirín*, "Review of Modern Times," which seems to be favoured by the French translator and the Calcutta editor, — or *Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirín*, "Manners of the Moderns," as rendered by Briggs, and followed by Sir H. M. Elliot.]

general history of India from 1700 to 1786 A D. It contains the reigns of the last seven Emperors of Hindústán, an account of the progress of the English in Bengal up to 1781 A.D., and a critical examination of their government and policy in Bengal. The author treats these important subjects with a freedom and spirit, and with a force, clearness and simplicity of style very unusual in an Asiatic writer, and which justly entitles him to pre-eminence among Muhammadan historians ["It is written," says General Briggs, "in the style of private memoirs, the most useful and engaging shape which history can assume, nor, excepting in the peculiarities which belong to the Muhammadan character and creed, do we perceive throughout its pages any inferiority to the historical memoirs of Europe The Duc de Sully, Lord Clarendon or Bishop Burnet need not have been ashamed to be the authors of such a production"]

The testimony which Ghulám Husain bears to the merits of the English is on the whole creditable to them Dr Tennant observes that "of injustice and corruption, as judges, the author entirely acquits our countrymen, and of cruelty and oppression, as rulers, he brings not the slightest imputation. From his intimate acquaintance with this subject, and his bias, if he felt any, being wholly against us, we may applaud our early adventurers for having obtained this honourable testimony to their character From want of knowledge in the language, he does accuse them of sometimes having suffered themselves to be imposed on by their *banians* and *sarkárs*, nor does he conceal that injustice was sometimes committed through their interference. Persian writings and books are not committed to the press and disseminated by publication as in Europe. This author's MSS., for many years, were handed about privately among the natives He could, therefore, have no fear of giving offence to the English by what he brought forward This is indeed apparent from many strictures he has written abundantly severe, nor does there seem any intention to please by flattery in a work that was never submitted to the perusal of the English.

The praises of General Goddard, and of many other individuals, to be found in the *Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirin*, are no exception to this remark, since they are evidently the effusions of sincerity and gratitude, and some of them, as that of Mr. Fullarton, were written long after the parties concerned had left the country. Without having any knowledge of civil liberty in the abstract, this author possessed the fullest enjoyment of it, and from this circumstance his testimony has become of great importance "[1]

The *Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirin*, or "Manners of the Moderns," was completed in the year 1783 by Saiyid Ghulám 'Alí Khán Tabátabá, a relation of Nawáb 'Alivardí Khán His father, Hidáyat 'Alí Khán, held the Government of Bihár in the *súbadarship* of Mahábat Jang, as the *naib*, or deputy, of his nephew and son-in-law Haibat Jang He was afterwards *Faujdar*, or military governor, of Sonpat and Pánipat, in the reign of Muhammad Sháh (On the flight of Sháh 'Álam from Dehlí to avoid the persecution of Ghází-u-d dín Khán, he accompanied him as his *Mir-bakhshi* or chief paymaster; having obtained for his eldest son Ghulám Husain, the post of *Mir-munshi* or principal secretary, and for his second son Fakhru-d daula, that of *Diwan-i tan* or overseer of the household The necessities of the Prince at length compelled Hidáyat 'Alí to relinquish his station, and he retired to his *jágír* in Bihár, where he died soon after the deposition of Kásim 'Alí Khán

His son, Ghulám Haidar, afterwards acted as representative of Kásim 'Alí Khán in Calcutta, till his suspected attachment to the English occasioned his removal. He was then engaged in various services under our own Government, and received many marks of favour from General Goddard, whom he attended on several enterprises In a short Preface he says, "No one apparently having stood forth to write an account of the nobles of Hind since the death of Aurangzeb, I will briefly record what I know on the subject, or have heard from trustworthy and esteemed narrators, to the end that if hereafter any intelligent

[1] Tennant's Indian Recreations, vol. i p 286

historian should be inclined to write the events of former times, the thread of successive occurrences might not be entirely broken. Relying, therefore, on the Divine aid, I proceed to the execution of my task, and will put down in clear language, free from abstruseness, whatsoever I have heard related by persons considered worthy of credit. If any mistakes occur, my apology is evident: those who have furnished the information must be answerable."

Some further particulars of the author may be found in volumes i. and iii. of the *Asiatic Annual Register*, in which Extracts are given from his autobiography, which is said to have been prefixed to his History, but it does not appear there in the printed edition by 'Abdu-l Majíd.

This work was translated into English by Mustafá, a French renegade, and published at Calcutta in 1789 in three quarto volumes The history of the translator is not very well known, but it appears from his Preface that he was in English employ, that he was a Muhammadan, and that he was plundered during a pilgrimage to Mecca. He was a French, Italian, Turkish, and apparently a classical scholar, also a perfect master of Persian and Hindústání. But although he prided himself upon his knowledge of English, he was not thoroughly versed in our tongue, and it is to be regretted that his translation was made into a language of which he was not a master, for his version is full of Gallicisms, although he says that he "could not write in any other language so fluently" A large portion of the impression of his work was lost on its way to England, [and it has long been a rare book, only to be found here and there in public libraries]

General Briggs undertook to bring out a new translation, [but he published only one volume, containing about one-sixth of the whole work, and this was more an amended version of the original translator's English than a revision of his translation.] A portion of the work relating to the transactions in Bengal has been translated in the second volume of Scott's *History of the Deccan*

The *Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirín* has been printed more than once at Calcutta. An excellent edition of the first volume was brought out there in 1836 by Hakím 'Abdu-l Majíd, in a quarto volume of 534 pages.

The work is well known to English readers from the many quotations and abstracts which Mill has made from it in his *History of India*, [and Ghulám Husain is "the Musulmán historian of those times" whom Macaulay has quoted and spoken of with approval[1] In fact, the native side of the history of Ghulám Husain's days, as it appears in the works of English writers, rests almost entirely upon his authority The limits of the present volume will not allow of such lengthy extracts as the merits of the work require, and it seems preferable to bring forward the views and statements of other writers, most of whom are entirely unknown to the European reader. For these reasons no Extracts from the work are here given, but it is greatly to be desired that a complete translation of this history should be accessible to the students of Indian history]

[1] Essay on Clive

CXIII.

MULAKHKHASU-T TAWÁRÍKH

OF

FARZAND 'ALÍ HUSAIN.

This is an abridgment of the *Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirin* by Farzand 'Alí of Monghír, who says respecting himself

"Being highly desirous to learn the history of the great kings of former times, I employed myself in the study of the *Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirin*, the unrivalled composition of Ghulám 'Alí Khán As this book has many beauties and advantages, which are rarely found in any other work on history, it has ever been dear to my heart, but its extreme prolixity not only demands a long time for its perusal, but exhausts the patience of readers; so at the request of some of my friends, I made an abstract of the work, and denominated it *Mulakhkhasu-t Tawárikh*"

This work is divided into three parts Part I Brief account of the Kings of India, from the reign of Tímúr to the twenty-second year of Muhammad Sháh, 1738 A D. Part II. A full account of the transactions in Bengal, 'Azímábád, and Orissa, to the commencement of the English rule in 1781 A D. Part III Transactions from the twenty-second year of Muhammad Sháh up to the twenty-third year of Sháh 'Álam's reign, 1781 A D.

It has been printed in a quarto volume, containing 511 pages of 19 lines each

There is another abridgment of the *Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirin* by Maulaví 'Abdu-l Karím, Head Master of the Persian Office. It was printed in Calcutta in one volume quarto in 1827, under the name of *Zubdatu-t Tawárikh*

CXIV

TÁRÍKH-I MAMÁLIK-I HIND

OF

GHULÁM BÁSIT.

THIS is a compilation by Ghulám Básit, undertaken at the suggestion of an English officer The title is the one borne by the copy at Bombay which I have had the opportunity of consulting. [But there is a work bearing the title of *Tarikh-i Basit,* which is probably the same as this]

The author tells us of himself, that he had no excellence of person or mind, and was long living on the income of a few acres of land which had descended to him from his ancestors, when, to his misfortune, his tenure, along with the other rent-free tenures in the province of Oudh, was resumed, and he was consequently reduced to the greatest distress and embarrassment The author in this emergency wished that, like his ancestors, who for about three hundred years had been in the service of the Emperors of Hindústán, he also might enter the service of the same family. But although, he observes, there were thousands and hundreds of thousands of people as insignificant as himself, who, notwithstanding the decline of the empire, subsisted upon the bounty of that house, he through his bad luck was disappointed in that expectation, and was obliged to seek employment under the English, who were noted for their generosity and courage. He assumed the name of a *munshi* in order to secure his daily bread, and through the grace of God and the kindness of

his masters, he at last obtained a sufficient provision for himself and children, and prayed God for the welfare of the English who had supported him.

In the year 1196 A.H. (1782 A.D.) he went to Calcutta, in company with I'tikádu-d daula Nasíru-l Mulk General Charles Burt, who one day requested him to write a brief account of the Rulers of Hindústán, whether Musulmán or Hindú, on the authority both of books and of oral testimony. As he considered gratitude paramount to all other obligations, he abstracted preceding authors, and noted down all that he had heard from his father Shaikh Saifu-llah of Bijnor, who had been during his whole life in the royal service, and had attained the great age of one hundred and five years. Although he abridged the accounts derived from other historians, he did so without the omission of any material points, and on the conclusion of his work, delivered one copy to his patron, and retained one for himself.

He does not state from what works he compiled his history; but in the course of it he mentions incidentally, amongst others, the *Mahabhárat*, *Matla'u-l Anwár*, *Táríkh-i Bahadúr-shahi*, *Táríkh-i Yamíní*, the histories of Hájí Muhammad Kandahárí and Nizámu-d dín Ahmad. As these are all mentioned by Firishta, it is probable that he only quotes them at second-hand.

He appears to have taken a very short time about the compilation, for he brings it down to the 10th of Ramazán of the same year in which he commenced it, namely, 1196 A.H. (1782 A.D.), the twenty-fourth year of Sháh 'Álam's reign, upon whose head he invokes a blessing.

The work is not divided into regular Books and Chapters. He begins with the Creation, proceeds from the Patriarchs, Hindú Demigods and Rájas to the Ghaznívides and Sultáns of Dehlí down to the reigning monarch. Before treating of the Tímúrian Sovereigns, he introduces an account of the Rulers of Sind, Multán, Kashmír, Bengal, Jaunpúr, the Bahmanís, the Kings of Bíjápúr, Ahmadnagar, Birár, Gujarát, Málwá, Khándesh and Malabár.

I know of only two copies of this history. One belonged to the late Mullá Fíroz of Bombay, and another I saw at Kanauj with the title *Zubdatu-t Tawáríkh*

[The Extract was translated by a *munshí*, and revised by Sir H M. Elliot]

SIZE—8vo , 612 pages of 17 lines each

EXTRACT.

In 1020 A H. (1611 A D), the Emperor Núru-d dín Jahángír made over the fort of Súrat, in the province of Gujarát, to the English, against whom the Firingís of Portugal bear a most deadly enmity, and both are thirsty of each other's blood. This was the place where the English made their first settlement in India Their religious belief is contrary to that of the Portuguese. For instance, they consider Jesus Christ (may the peace of God rest on him!) a servant of God and His prophet, but do not admit that he was the Son of God They are in no wise obedient to the King of Portugal, but have their own king At present, A.H 1196 (1782 A D), these people have sway over most parts of Hindústán

The people of Malíbár are for the most part infidels, and their chief is called Ghaiár (Ghamyár ?) Their marriage ceremony consists in tying some writing round the neck of the bride, but this is not of much effect, for women are not restricted to one marriage One woman may have several husbands, and she cohabits every night with one of them by turns The carpenters, blacksmiths, dyers, in short, all except Brahmins, form connexions with each other in this fashion

Originally the infidel Khokhars of the Panjáb, before embracing Islám, observed a very curious custom Among them also polyandry prevailed When one husband went into the house of the woman, he left something at the door as a signal, so that, if another husband happened to come at the same time, he might upon seeing it return Besides this, if a daughter was born, she was taken out of the house immediately, and it was proclaimed,

"Will any person purchase this girl, or not?" If there appeared any purchaser, she was given to him, otherwise she was put to death.

It is also a custom among the Malíbárís, that in case of there being several brothers, none except the eldest is allowed to marry, because in that case there would be many heirs, and disputes might arise If any of the other brothers desires a woman, he must go to some common strumpet of the *bázár*, but he cannot marry. If the eldest brother die, the survivors are to keep mourning for him during a whole year, and so on in proportion for the other brothers. Amongst them women make their advances to the men.

The Malíbárís are divided into three classes If a person of the highest class cohabit with one of the lowest, he is not allowed to eat until he has bathed, and if he should so eat, he is sold by the governor to the people of the lowest class, and is made a slave, unless he manages to escape to some place where he is not recognized. In the same manner, a person of the lowest class cannot cook for one of the highest, and if the latter eats food from the hands of the former, he is degraded from his class

From the time that the writer came to Oudh, some allowance for his maintenance was made by Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula, through the recommendation of Bíbí Khánam and Shafík 'Alí Khán, and he continued to receive it for seventeen years, that is, up to 1184 A.H. (1770 A.D.), when it was stopped by Bení Bahádur, on account of some misunderstanding which arose between him and Bíbí Khánam. This involved the writer in great pecuniary distress, but after a few years, when Bení Bahádur became blind, and was deprived of his authority, an order was passed for restoring the payments which had been withheld. Although this was effected through the favour of Bíbí Khánam, in whose immediate employment he was, yet he considered it his duty to make some return for the obligations which he was under to Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula, and "as that nobleman took great delight in gardens and orchards, and as every chapter of this work gives no less pleasure to the mind than a walk through the parterres of a garden, the compiler thought it proper to dedicate it to him, and gave it therefore the title of *Chahár Gulzar Shujá'í*, "The Four Rose Gardens of Shujá'."

The work is nevertheless divided into five Books, fancifully styled *Chamans*, or "parterres," an apparent inconsistency derived from the fact that four is a favourite number, especially with respect to gardens, which, being generally square after the Oriental fashion, are divided into four even portions, by two transverse roads.

[The preceding account of the work was taken by Sir H. M. Elliot from the author's Preface. The writer is very communicative in other parts of his work as to his family and pecuniary matters, and he frequently enters into long details about them and his employments. He lived to the age of eighty, and had seen many of the events which he describes, so that his work is of value, though it is somewhat discursive. The Extracts all relate to modern times. They were translated for Sir H. M. Elliot by *munshis*, and have been corrected in his handwriting.]

CONTENTS.

Book I History of Brahma, Mahes, etc.—II. Account of the Sati Yuga—III. The Treta Yuga and the Avatárs—IV. The Dwápara—V. The Kalí Yuga this book is divided into two parts.

Part I.—The Rájas of Dehlí, now called Sháh-Jahánábád, from the beginning of the Kalí Yuga, or the reign of Rája Judhishtar, in whose time the great war took place, up to the first irruption of the Muhammadans, as taken from the *Rájávali* and Faizí's translation of the *Mahábhárata* from Hindí into Persian.

Part II.—History of the Muhammadans according to the most authentic works, and the author's own observation during a long life, from the establishment of their power in India to this the eightieth year of his age, and the 1198th of the Muhammadan era, corresponding with the twenty-fifth of Sháh 'Álam's reign

Part I.—Sec i. Commences from Rája Judhishtar Thirty Rájas of this line ruled during a period of 1739 years 3 months and 16 days. The following are their names * * —ii Rája Bisarwá and * * his successors, fourteen in number, reigned 500 years 2 months and 23 days —iii. Rája Bír Báhú and * * his successors, sixteen in number, reigned 430 years 5 months.—iv. Rája Dihandar and * * his successors, nine in number, reigned 359 years 11 months and 27 days.—v. Rája Sakot.—vi. Rája Bikramájít.—vii Samundarpál, Jundpál, son of Samundarpál, Neipál, son of Jundpál, Despál, son of Neipál, Nar Singh Pál, son of Despál, Sabhpál, son of Nar Singh Pál, Lakhpál, son of Sabhpál, Gobindpál, son of Lakhpál, Sarbpál, son of Gobindpál, Balípál, son of Sarbpál, Mehrpál, son of Balípál, Harpál, son of Mehrpál; Bhímpál, son of Harpál; Madanpál, son of Bhimpál, Karmpál, son of Madanpál; Bikrampál, son of Karmpál. The reigns of these sixteen princes make up a period of 685 years 5 months and 20 days.—viii. Rája Tilok Chand, Bikram Chand, son of Tilok Chand, Kártik Chand, son of Bikram Chand; Rám

Chand, son of Kártik Chand; Adhar Chand, son of Rám Chand; Kalyán Chand, son of Adhar Chand; Bhím Chand, son of Kalyán Chand; Girah Chand, son of Bhím Chand, Gobind Chand, son of Girah Chand, Rání Premvatí, wife of Gobind Chand. These ten princes ruled during a period of 119 years 11 months and 9 days —ix Har Prem Four Rájas of this family reigned during 49 years 11 months and 20 days —Gobind Chand, son of Har Prem, Gopál Prem, son of Gobind Chand; Mahá Pátr, son of Gopál Prem —x Dahí Sen, Baláwal Sen, son of Dahí Sen; Keshú Sen, son of Baláwal Sen, Madhú Sen, son of Keshú Sen, Súr Sen, son of Madhú Sen; Bhím Sen, son of Súr Sen, Kanak Sen, son of Bhím Sen; Hari Sen, son of Kanak Sen; Ghan Sen, son of Hari Sen, Náráin Sen, son of Ghan Sen; Lakhman Sen, son of Náráin Sen, Madr Sen, son of Lakhman Sen —xi Rája Díp Singh Six Rájas of this family ruled during 107 years and 7 months Rán Singh, son of Díp Singh, Ráj Singh, son of Rán Singh, Chatar Singh, son of Ráj Singh, Nar Singh, son of Chatar Singh, Jíwan Singh, son of Nar Singh —xii Rája Pithaurá Of this line five princes filled the throne during 80 years 6 months and 10 days Ráí Abhai Mal, son of Ráí Pithaurá, Durjan Mal, son of Abhai Mal, Udai Mal, son of Durjan Mal; Ráí Vijai Mal, son of Udai Mal

Part II —History of the Muhammadan Emperors, from the reign of Shahábu-d dín Ghorí, who first ruled in Hindústán, to the thirteenth year of Sháh 'Álam's reign, A.H 1187 (1773 A.D), a period of 635 years This part is divided into nine Sections. [The author continues his list of contents in great detail]

EXTRACTS.

Khandi Ráo, son of Malhar Rao, Mahratta, killed by Súraj Mal Ját, and Áppáji Mahratta by the Ráthor Rájpúts

In 1160 A H (1747 A D) Áppájí, Malhár Ráo, and other Mahrattas, having collected a large force from Málwá and Gujarát, poured like a torrent upon Díg and Kumbher, then held by Súraj

Mal Ját. They laid siege to those forts, and devastated the country. The war continued for several months, and ended in the death of Khándí Ráo, who was killed in an action with Súraj Mal.

After the death of this chief, the Mahrattas, finding themselves unable to stand against the Játs, turned their arms towards the country of Rája Bakht Singh and other Ráthor chiefs, and demanded a contribution from the Rája, who, immediately on receiving the message, assembled a council of war, and thus resolutely addressed all his chiefs "Alas! how deplorable is the condition of Rájpúts, that a mean and contemptible tribe from the Dakhin demands tribute from them! Where are those Rájpúts gone who were so brave, that only ten of them could oppose a thousand of the enemy, and who once with the edge of their sword not only punished the rebels who occupied the most secure and impenetrable valleys of Kábul, but drove them out and became masters of their strongholds? While the Rájpúts occupied the road between Kábul and India, no power could force its way into this country from that direction, nor did any people there dare to disturb the peace of the subjects or rise in rebellion against the throne Surely, the blood of true Rájpúts is altogether extinct" He uttered many such inflammatory sentences before the assembly, and a Rájpút, roused by his speech, broke silence and said, "The Rájpúts of this time possess more courage than those of former ages, but the Rájas of the present time are not so brave or so judicious in command as they were of old." "Of course," replied the Rája, "if the soldiers of an army be cowards, blame is thrown upon the weakness and inability of its leader"

In short, after a long discussion, the Rájpút rose up with six other persons, two of whom were his sons, two his nephews, and two his friends They all mounted their horses, and spurring them on, proceeded direct to Áppájí's camp, which was at the distance of thirty *kos* from that of Rája Bakht Singh. They alighted from their horses, and at once entered the tent of Áppájí,

turning a deaf ear to the guards who stood at the door and tried to prevent them from going in. The chief of these bravé Rájpúts, dauntlessly approaching the Mahratta chief, sat close to his cushion, and freely entered into a conversation with him. He asked him, in the name of his Rája, what he meant by coming into this territory, and demanding contribution from the Ráthor chief "I came here," replied Áppáji, "by the force of my arms, and I demand the tribute by right of might. If God pleases, I will penetrate in a few days to the very palaces of your Rája" "No, no," said the Rájpút, "you must not be too sure of your bravery and power. God has made other men stronger than you."

On hearing these words, Áppáji's indignation knew no bounds, and at once breaking out into passion, he began to abuse him and the Rája The Rájpút could not restrain himself, and, inflamed with anger, drew out his dagger, and stabbing the Mahratta chief, put an end to his existence with one blow Having severed his head from his body, he made off with it, and took it to Rája Bakht Singh, while his other companions engaged with the Mahrattas, who, with loud shouts, ran towards them, to avenge the death of their chief Three of these Rájpúts were slain, and three, though much wounded, escaped from the hands of the enemy. After the death of Áppáji, the Mahrattas were obliged to decamp, and return to their country.

Death of 'Aliwardi Khán, Nazim of Bengal

'Aliwardí Khán, the Governor of Bengal, Maksúdábád and Patna, having no son, and seeing that his end was fast approaching, appointed his daughter's son as his successor, and enjoined on him the observance of two precepts. First, that he should never enter into hostilities with the English Secondly, that he should never exalt Ja'far 'Alí Khán to any great rank, or entrust him with such power as to involve himself in difficulty, in case of his revolt.

Siráju-d daula, however, soon forgot these precepts, and when,

after the death of 'Aliwardí Khán, he succeeded to power, he took Ja'fár 'Alí Khán into his favour, and conferred on him a *jágír*, to which he also attached a troop of horse and foot, and placed his whole army under his command. The English at Calcutta punctually paid their annual tribute, according to the fixed rate But Siráju-d daula, through his covetousness and pride of power, demanded an increase of tribute from them, and became openly hostile towards them Actuated by his vanity and presumption, he suddenly attacked them in Calcutta, and having plundered their property and cash, put several of their officers to death, and returned to Murshidábád

As the English had taken no heed of his movements, they could not oppose him at the time with success, but afterwards they collected a large army, and marched boldly towards Murshidábád They also brought over Ja'far 'Alí Khán to their interest, upon the promise of making over the province of Bengal to him When their army reached within one or two marches from Murshidábád, Siráju-d daula advanced to oppose them Ja'far 'Alí Khán, who had the command of all his forces, wished to capture and surrender him to the English without any battle being fought, but Siráju-d daula soon became acquainted with his intentions, and seeing himself in a helpless situation, secretly embarked alone in a boat and fled

After his flight the English assigned the province of Bengal to Ja'far 'Alí Khán, who established his rule there, and appointed his deputies in all its districts All the property of Siráju-d daula was taken and divided between him and the English When Siráju-d daula had gone thirty *kos* from Murshidábád, he stopped for a while, and ordered his servant to land in the jungle, and try to get some fire for his *hukka* Accordingly the servant disembarked, and seeing the cottage of a *darwesh*, he approached it, and asked the occupant for some fire.

It is said that the *darwesh* had been a servant of Siráju-d daula, and, being ignominiously turned out by him for some fault, he had become a *fakír*, and taken up his abode in this jungle. When

he saw the servant of Sirája-d daula, with a *chillam* in his hand studded with gems, he instantly recognized him, and asked him how he happened to be there The servant, who was a simpleton, discovered the whole matter to him, and the *darwesh*, quietly leaving him there, went with all speed to the governor of the neighbouring town, and informed him of Sirája-d daula's arrival As orders for capturing the Nawáb had been issued by Ja'far 'Alí Khán and the English, and the governor had received them on the same day, he immediately embarked on a boat, and, having seized the Nawáb, sent him under the custody of some trusty servants to Ja'far 'Alí Khán, who put him to death in A H 1160 (1747 A D)

Having so far gratified his ambition, Ja'far 'Alí Khán with a settled mind devoted his attention to the management of Bengal, and took possession of all the wealth and royal equipage of Sirája-d daula, who had involved himself in this danger by not observing the wise advice of his grandfather.

Safdar Jang and Súraj Mal Jat

When Safdar Jang was appointed chief minister by Ahmad Sháh, the districts which, according to the established custom, comprised the *jagír* of a minister, were also granted to him. Farídábád, which is twelve *kos* distance from Sháh-Jahánábád, had been formerly a part of this *jágír*, but since the time of the late minister, I'timádu-d daula, Balrám, a near relation of Súraj Mal Ját, having put the officers of the minister to death, had made himself master of this district, and gave him only what he liked out of its revenues The magnanimous spirit of Safdar Jang could not brook this usage, and he demanded in strong terms the surrender of the district by Suraj Mal Ját and Balrám, but they still retained it, and answered him evasively.

At last, in A H 1160 (1747 A D), he marched to Dehlí to punish them for their delay, and soon recovered Farídábád from Balrám. Having pitched his tents there, he also demanded that Súraj Mal should resign all the places which belonged to the

Emperor, but the Ját chief, on receiving this demand, began to fortify his posts of Díg, Kumbher and other places with strong garrisons, guns, and all the munitions of war, and having prepared himself for an engagement, addressed the minister sometimes with promises of surrender and sometimes with threats of vengeance.

Fight between Káim Khán and Sa'du-llah Khán

In 1162 A.H. (1749 A.D.), when Safdar Jang was endeavouring to recover possession of the districts which belonged to the Emperor, a misunderstanding arose between Káim Khán, etc., the sons of Muhammad Bangash Afghán, and Sa'du-llah Khán and other sons of 'Alí Muhammad Khán Rohilla, and the two parties, the Afgháns and the Rohillas, went so far in their animosity towards each other that they both had recourse to arms. Many battles took place between them, and at last the contest ended in the destruction of Káim Khán, the eldest son of Muhammad Khán Bangash. The Afgháns, after the death of their chief, took to flight, and the Rohillas returned victorious to their homes.

When the news of Káim Khán's death became known, Safdar Jang left the matter with Súraj Mal Ját unsettled, and immediately came to Dehlí. With the permission of the Emperor, he soon marched to Farrukhábád, the residence of Káim Khán, and confiscated all the property of the Afgháns, leaving only a few villages sufficient for the maintenance of Ahmad Khán and the other sons and relatives of Muhammad Khán. He placed the estates of the Afgháns under the management of Rája Nuwul Rái, who acted as the Nawáb's deputy in the governorship of the province of Oudh and Alláhábád, and himself returned to Dehlí.

Ja'far 'Alí Khán and Kasim 'Alí Khan.

Ja'far 'Alí Khán, who had joined with the English, put Siráju-d daula, his sister's son, who governed Murshidábád, to

death, and himself became governor of the province. Kásim 'Alí Khán, who was one of his near relations, acquired great strength, and collected a large force on the strength of his connexion with the governor Míran, son of Ja'far 'Alí Khán, became deputy of his father, and, having assembled a large army, engaged in managing the affairs of the provinces He resolved on punishing Khádim Husain Khán, governor of Púraniya, who refused submission to Ja'far 'Alí Khán Having marched from Maksúdábád, he reached the banks of the river which flows on the other side of Púraniya, and pitched his tents there After a bridge of boats was made, Míran determined to cross the river next morning, and make a sudden attack upon Khádim Husain Khán As he had collected a very large army, and was himself exceedingly bold and enterprising, Khádim Husain Khán was greatly alarmed, and prepared to escape during the night, leaving the city of Púraniya to the invader But, accidentally, about the middle of the night, Míran, who was sleeping in his tent, was struck dead by lightning. When his army was left without a leader, many fled away for fear of Khádim Husain Khán, and the rest, with the camp, returned to Ja'far 'Alí Khán at Murshidábád It is said that Míran was very generous. One day [having had no occasion to bestow alms] he said, "Some evil is about to befall me," and the same night he was struck by lightning and died.

Ja'far 'Alí Khán, after Míran's death, became weak and embarrassed Kásim 'Alí Khán, his son-in-law, who through his kindness had been enabled to obtain power, and collect an army, joined with the English, and having invited them from Calcutta, took Ja'far 'Alí Khán prisoner. The English made Kásim 'Alí Khán governor of Bengal and 'Azímábád Patna, instead of Ja'far 'Alí Khán in 1170 A.H.

Shah 'A'lam proceeds against Kalinjar.

His Majesty, the asylum of the world, Sháh 'Álam Bádsháh, having subdued the Deputy *Súbadar* of the province of 'Azímábád,

and taken a contribution from him, returned to the province of Oudh, which belonged to Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula. The Nawáb advanced to receive him with honour. The Emperor, accompanied by him, went towards Jhánsí and the fort of Kálinjar, which were very strong places, and in the possession of the Bundela Rájas and Mahrattas. Shujá'u-d daula with his army went as far as Mahobá, which is near the fort of Kálinjar, and overran the country. The Rája of Kálinjar was obliged to pay him a contribution and also to promise an annual tribute

The districts of Jhánsí, Kálpí, etc., which belonged to the Bundelas and others, were after many battles and struggles taken from them, and annexed to the dominions of the Emperor and Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula * * Afterwards they crossed the Ganges, and proceeded to Mahdí-ghát, where they encamped in 1177 A H. (1763 A D).

Kásim 'Alí Khan invites Shah 'A'lam and Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula to 'Azimabad, and a battle is fought with the English

When Kásim 'Alí Khán, Governor of the province of Bengal, Maksúdábád and 'Azímábád Patna, having fled from the English, reached the vicinity of Benares, which belonged to Shujá'u-d daula, Sháh 'A'lam and the Nawáb were encamped on the banks of the Jumna, at the *ghát* of Bíbípúr, within the boundary of Karra, to settle terms about the fort of Kálinjar, and correspondence was going on about the matter with Rája Hindúpat. At that place a petition was received by the Emperor and a letter by the Nawáb from Kásim 'Alí Khán, soliciting an interview, and requesting assistance, with promises of remuneration Satisfactory replies were sent on the part of the Emperor and the Nawáb Kásim 'Alí Khán therefore left Benares, and when he arrived at the *ghát* of Bíbípúr, pitched his tents near the royal camp.

After an interview with the Emperor and Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula, he presented them with a large donation in cash, valuables

and curiosities, and derived encouragement and consolation from them. But as in those days a question was under dispute with Rája Hindúpat, the Emperor and the Nawáb could not attend to any other matter till that was settled. Kásim 'Alí Khán, seeing that the Rája would not come to amicable terms, and that the Emperor and the Nawáb could not go to 'Azímábád and Bengal until the dispute was adjusted, offered his mediation, and after an interview with the Rája, settled the question A part of the contribution money, which the Rája had become liable to pay, was realized, and for the remainder Kásim 'Alí Khán became surety After this, he entreated the Emperor and the Nawáb for assistance, and represented his desperate circumstances to them He also promised to pay monthly all the expenses of their armies, till such time as he might obtain victory over the English, and reinstate himself in the provinces of Bengal and 'Azímábád.

Though some say that the Emperor did not wish to engage in hostilities, nevertheless it was at last determined that the provinces of Bengal and 'Azímábád should be taken from the English and given to Kásim 'Alí Khán, and also that the English should be punished Accordingly, on the 1st of Zí-l ka'da, 1178 A H (20th April, 1765 A D),[1] the Emperor, Shujá'u d daula Wazíru-l Mamálik and Kásim 'Alí Khán marched towards 'Azímábád, as far as Benares The English who were at 'Azímábád Patna trembled like an aspen at the fear of His Majesty Sháh 'Alam Bádsháh and Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula, and they sent petitions to them, soliciting forgiveness for their conduct They deputed Shitáb Rái on their part, promising to give up 'Azímábád, pay whatever might be demanded as a contribution, and obey any orders that might be given, praying also that the Emperor and the Nawáb would return from Benares without attacking them

The request of the English was not acceded to, Shitáb Rái was turned out of the camp, and the royal army marched on from Benares The English, being informed of this, left the city of

[1] [This is a year too late The real date is 3rd May, 1764]

Patna, and having assembled at Bach Pahárí, six *kos* from that city, on the road to Benares, fixed their batteries there. Relying upon destiny, they resolved to offer opposition, and prepared to fight

The Emperor and the Nawáb, having marched from Benares, proceeded by rapid marches, like an arrow shot from a bow, and encamped at five *kos* from Bach Pahárí The action commenced with the shooting of arrows and firing of muskets, and it continued for two days The third day the brave and bold warriors of Shujá'u-d daula's army, making a vigorous attack, advanced their batteries close to Pahárí, and engaged with the English, who also spared no effort in resistance, and exerted themselves to fight

The whole day the warriors of both sides stood firm fighting in the field. At the close of the day, when the sun approached the horizon, the brave soldiers of both parties ceased to combat, and the batteries remained fixed in their first positions But Shujá'u-d daula, by the advice of some ignorant and inexperienced men who were with him, recalled the warriors of his army from Pahárí to his own tents Although Shujá' Kulí Khán and others who were at the batteries remonstrated with him, and remarked that to remove them from their position would be highly inexpedient, because they had been fixed there with great difficulty and pains, and in case of retreat it would be very difficult to regain the position, yet the Nawáb would not listen to them, and having recalled the soldiers from Pahárí, ordered the batteries to be fixed near his camp

The English, considering this a favour of God, occupied the position where the batteries of the enemy had been The next day the Nawáb could not drive the English from it In these same days, the wet season commenced, and rain began to fall The place where the tents of the Emperor and Shujá'u-d daula were pitched being low, and water having collected there, it was considered unfit for the camp, and His Majesty and the Nawáb retreated to Baksar, which is thirty *kos* east of Benares When the rains were over, in consequence of the war having been pro-

longed for several months, and the collection of the revenues from the provinces which belonged to Shujá'u-d daula having been delayed on account of the expedition, and as the army which was newly enlisted by the Emperor and the Nawáb for this war with the English, as well as the veteran troops, began to demand their pay, the Emperor and the Nawáb asked Kásim 'Alí Khán for the money which he had promised for the expenses of the army But he evaded payment by frivolous excuses. As the demand for arrears created a mutinous spirit in the army, and as Kásim 'Alí Khán, notwithstanding that he was importuned and entreated to pay the money, would not come to a right understanding, but resorted to unfair and dishonest expedients, the Emperor and the Nawáb took harsh measures against him, and having called him from his tent, put him under the custody of a guard Whatever property of his they could lay their hands on, such as elephants and horses, they sold, and paid the army from the proceeds

When the rainy season was over, the English, having marched from 'Azímábád, pitched their tents near Baksar, opposite the Emperor's and the Nawáb's camp, at a distance of five or six *kos* Lines of intrenchment were prepared on either side, and the action commenced with guns and muskets As Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula had heavy artillery with him, the English army could not stand against it, and they at last prepared to engage in close combat When recourse was had to this kind of warfare, both parties stood their ground firmly, and the warriors of both sides, expertly using their swords, bows and arrows, destroyed their opponents, and increased the business in the market of the angel of death The brave and intrepid warriors of Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula's army, having overcome the enemy, fell upon his camp, and stretched out their hands to plunder. They put a great number of them to the sword, and beat the drums of triumph and conquest. The Nawáb ordered his soldiers not to let any one escape alive The army of Shujá'u-d daula surrounded the enemy on all sides, and the English, having no way left for

flight, collected at one spot, and having resolved to die, made a very desperate attack upon their opponents. Shujá' Kulí Khán, *alias* 'Ísá, who was a slave of the Nawáb, and had 4000 horse under his command, observed the furious attack of the English, and cried out to his soldiers, "Friends! it was for such a day as this that you put on those arms. Form a compact body, and at once charge the enemy, and put them to the sword." His followers seemed ready to obey the command. They read the *fátiha*, and lifted up their hands in prayer. 'Ísá, thinking that they would follow him, galloped his horse towards the English front, but only five horsemen out of four thousand followed him. Of those cowards who remained behind, some took to flight, and others stood idle on their ground. 'Ísá with his drawn sword furiously attacked the enemy like a Rustam. He killed many, and after astonishing feats of valour, drank the cup of martyrdom. Having shown his loyalty, he met with the mercy of God.

When Shujá' Kulí Khán, *alias* 'Ísá, was slain, all his cavalry at once took to flight, and caused great confusion in the army of Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula. The English, being informed of this, with great impetuosity attacked the division of Rája Beni Bahádur, the deputy of the Nawáb. The Rája, who had never been in action, could not stand his ground, and fled without attempting to fight. As he commanded several thousands, both of horse and foot, his flight caused the defeat of the armies of the Emperor and the Nawáb. The English took possession of the intrenchments of the fugitives. Although the Nawáb tried much to rally them, and cried out (in the words of Sa'dí), "Ye brave men, exert yourselves to fight, and do not put on the clothes of women," yet none returned, all sought safety in flight.

When the Nawáb and the Emperor's forces fled, the English fell upon their camps, and began to plunder them. The Nawab hastened in confusion towards Benares, and halted when he arrived there. The English took possession of his tents, guns and other property. The Emperor also fled to Benares. The Nawáb, after

some days, hastened to Alláhábád, and stayed there three months collecting a large army

The English, in the mean time, laid siege to Chunár. Sídí Muhammad Bashír Khán, the Governor, offered opposition, and, opening his artillery from the ramparts, fought very bravely But when several days had passed, and nobody came to reinforce him (for the fort was near Benares, and the Nawáb was at Alláhábád), he was obliged to capitulate, and leave the fort in their possession He was allowed to go to Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula at Alláhábád The English made an alliance with Sháh 'Álam, who was at Benares, and marched with him from that place to Jaunpúr The Nawáb moved towards the same place at the head of a large army, with the intention of hazarding a battle

Both parties encamped near Jaunpúr, at the distance of two or three *kos* from each other, and skirmishes took place between them. Two or three English officers fell into the hands of the Mughals of the Nawáb's army, and this obliged the English to propose terms of peace through the Mughal chiefs, who at their request advised the Nawáb to accept the terms Bení Bahádur, and some other short-sighted and ignorant people dissuaded him from liberating the English officers and he would not agree to peace This created enmity and disaffection in the minds of the Mughal chiefs against the Nawáb, and they accordingly entered into an understanding with the English, that if they delivered the Nawáb into the hands of the English on the day of battle, they should be rewarded with appointments in the provinces The Nawáb, being apprised of this, was greatly alarmed, because the Mughals were the most powerful body in his army When the armies prepared to engage, the Mughals stood aloof, and as the Nawáb's affairs were reduced to a desperate condition, and a battle could not be hazarded, he broke up his camp near Jaunpúr, and retreated towards Lucknow.

When he reached that place, Simrú[1] Gárdi, who was at the

[1] [The adventurer "Sumroo" or "Sombre"]

head of ten or twelve thousand Gárdí Telinga[1] soldiers; Gusáín Anúp Gir, who commanded several thousand horse; and 'Alí Beg Khán, Shitáb Jang, and Ághá Bákir, who, though Mughals, had not joined with the insurgents, hastened to meet the Nawáb Najaf Khán, Muhammad 'Alí Khán, Ághá Rahím and other Mughal chiefs, went over to the English, and the rest of the army fled

On the 9th of Sha'bán, A H 1178 (1 Feb 1765), the Nawáb with his whole family, and all the property which he could collect, marched from Lucknow towards Bareilly, which belonged to Háfiz Rahmat Rohilla. On leaving Lucknow, the Nawáb encamped at *báoli* (well), near Rustam-nagar

Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula, having reached Bareilly, which formed the *ta'lúká* of Háfiz Rahmat Rohilla, left his family there with Simrú Gárdí, who was at the head of several thousand horse and foot soldiers He himself proceeded to Garh Muktesar, which is situated on the banks of the Ganges, thirty *kos* from Sháh-Jahánábád He met there the chiefs of the Mahratta army, and made an alliance with them Having returned thence, he came to Farrukhábád. Gusáín Anúp Gir, who was a great general and one of the oldest servants of the Nawáb, quarrelled with him while encamped on the banks of the Ganges near Garh Muktesar, on account of the pay of his regiments, and having deserted him, went over to Jawáhir Singh, son of Súraj Mal Ját

When Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula arrived at Farrukhábád, he requested Ahmad Khán and Muhammad Khán Bangash, Háfiz Rahmat, Dúndí Khán, Najíb Khán, and other Rohilla and Afghán chiefs, to lend him their aid, but through fear of the English they all refused to accompany him. Gházíu-d dín Khán 'Imádu-l Mulk, who was in those days with Ahmad Khán at Farrukhábád, accompanied Shujá'u-d daula from Farrukhábád to the Mahrattas at Kora. The Mahrattas went with them to the ferry of Jájmau, on the banks of the Ganges. The English left Alláhábád, and came to the same place, when Nawáb Shujá'u-d

[1] [See note, p 155, *supra*]

daula, Gházíu-d dín Khán and the Mahrattas resolved to oppose them

After an obstinate battle, the army of the Mahrattas took to flight, and having plundered on their way the city of Kora, arrived at Kálpí. Gházíu-d dín, with a few men, fled to Farrukhábád. Shujá'u-d daula, disappointed in obtaining help and assistance in every quarter, determined to venture alone to the English, and make peace with them, rather than wander from place to place in a state of embarrassment He accordingly came unattended to Jájmau, where the English had encamped. When he approached the camp, and the English were informed of his coming, their chiefs, who were very polite and affable, immediately came out of their tents, and proceeded on foot to meet him They showed him great hospitality and respect, and, accompanying him to their tents with due honour, promised to restore to him the provinces which had been in his possession, and told him that he was at liberty to place his family wherever he liked The Nawáb, having taken his leave from the English, pitched his tents at the distance of four *kos* from them He summoned his family from Bareilly, and sent them to Lucknow.

Simru, commander of the Gárdí regiment, who was now in the service and in charge of the family of the Nawáb, had been formerly in the employ of the English, and, taking some offence at them, had entered the service of Kásim 'Alí Khán, Governor of Bengal, and when the Khán was ruined, had entered at Baksar into the service of Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula As peace was now made, the English demanded his surrender by the Nawáb, but the Nawáb, respecting his bravery and courage, did not consider it proper to comply, but dismissed Simrú from his service Simrú, who was coming with the family of the Nawáb from Bareilly to Lucknow, learnt the news of his dismissal on the way. On this he petitioned for the arrears of his pay, and resolved to take severe measures in the event of refusal The Nawáb Begam, mother of Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula, and Bení Bahádur, paid him what was due to him near Sháhábád, and then dismissed him.

Having received his pay, he went to Jawáhir Singh Ját at Díg and Kumbher. The family of the Nawáb, with the Khánam Sáhiba and others, arrived at the *baoli* (well), near Lucknow, on the 9th Muharram, A.H 1179 (28 June, 1765 A.D.), and pitched their tents there.

As by this time the Nawáb, in company with the English, had reached Phúphámau, near Allháhábád; his family followed him to the same place * * But the English intimated to him that he should leave the ladies of his family at Faizábád, and himself accompany them to Maksúdábád, where their chief resided The Nawáb acted according to their request, and, having embarked in a boat, accompanied them to that city by water, with only a few attendants When an interview took place between the English and the Nawáb on the way between 'Azímábád and Maksúdábád, they showed him great hospitality and kindness, and wrote him a letter, in which they restored to him both the provinces which had been in his possession. They took from him the district of Alláhábád, with several other *mahals*, the annual revenue of which amounted altogether to twelve *lacs* of rupees, and also the district of Kora, and they gave these places to Sháh 'Álam Bádsháh They also promised to pay the Emperor annually a sum of fifty *lacs* of rupees on account of the provinces of Bengal and 'Azímábád, and having placed their officers in the fort of Alláhábád, they erected a factory there From the 13th of Rabí'u-l awwal, A H 1179, the Nawáb's rule was again established in the provinces of Oudh and Alláhábád.[1] The Emperor took up his residence in Sultán Khusrú's garden at Alláhábád The English garrisoned the fort of Alláhábád, and erected a factory in Benares Mr Hooper was appointed Resident at the Court of the Nawáb.

The English

How can I sufficiently extol the courage, generosity, and justice of the English? In bravery Rustam cannot be compared to

[1] [Alláhábád was not restored, but, as stated above, was given to the Emperor]

them, because, with only 10,000 foot soldiers, they marched from Maksúdábád to 'Azímábád, fighting against the army of Kásim 'Alí Khán, consisting of 100,000 horse and foot, and never showed their backs in battle. In the same manner they engaged four times with the armies of Shujá'u-d daula and the Emperor, which amounted to more than 100,000 infantry and horse, and yet never retreated from the field. Moreover, they have fought against the Mahrattas and Gházíu-d dín Khán, and always with a similar result Hátim Táí, who is said to have been the very model of generosity, had not perhaps such a liberal mind and magnanimous spirit as they have, because, after obtaining victory over Siráju-d daula, they gave the provinces of Bengal and 'Azímábád to Ja'far 'Alí Khán, and afterwards to Kásim 'Alí Khán, and after conquering the provinces of Oudh and Allahábád, they restored them both to Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula[1] Naushírwán is mentioned as most just and equitable, but in justice and equity the English are not inferior to him When they entered the city of Lucknow, and other cities and towns in the provinces of Oudh and Alláhábád, as conquerors, they did not hurt there even an ant, and in no way injured or troubled any person Notwithstanding that many turbulent and seditious characters instigated them, and pointed out to them the riches of the people, told them that certain bankers possessed great wealth, and urged that it should be exacted from them, yet these righteous people allowed no mischief to be done, but on the contrary, punished these low informers, and cautioned them against spelling such words again They strictly ordered their soldiers to commit no act of oppression or extortion upon any individual. Mr Hooper was long a Resident at the Court of Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula, and yet, during the period of seven or eight years he was so accredited, neither he himself nor any of his servants committed a single act of violence against any person. Monsieur Laintin (?), a Firingí, who was one of the greatest of Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula's followers, conducted himself in the same

[1] See note in preceding page

exemplary manner; and although he sent Syám Lál, his *díwán*, to prison at the instigation of the *díwán's* enemies, still he gave him no unnecessary pain. In short, the goodness of these people is beyond all bounds, and it is on account of their own and their servants' honesty that they are so fortunate and wealthy.

Jawáhir Singh and Ratan Singh, sons of Súraj Mal Ját, and their successors

In the month of Jumáda-s sání, 1181 A.H. (Oct. 1767), Jawáhir Singh, son of Súraj Mal Ját, marched from Díg and Kumbher, which were his residences, to bathe in the tank of Pokhar, a great sacred place of the Hindús. It is situated near Ajmír, within the territory of Rája Mádhú Singh, son of Rája Jai Singh Kachhwáhá; and Jawáhir Singh, on reaching the boundary of the Rája's possessions, began to ravage the country and plunder the people He overran most places in the territory. When he reached within two stages from Pokhar, he learnt that Rája Bijai Singh, son of Rája Bakht Singh Ráthor, had also come to bathe. Fearing on account of the outrages he had committed on his way, he wrote to Bijai Singh that he was suspicious of Mádhú Singh, and that, if he would permit him, he would come to bathe The Rája wrote in reply that he should come only with 2000 horse, but Jawáhir Singh, contrary to this desire, proceeded with all his forces, which consisted of about 60,000 horse, one *lac* of foot, and one thousand large and small guns. On the 13th of Jumáda-s sání he bathed in the tank, and having halted a few days there, returned

The news of his outrages and plundering having reached Mádhú Singh and other Rájpút chiefs, they considered it a great insult, and contrary to custom All the Rájpúts having assembled together, went to Mádhú Singh, * * proposing to take revenge Mádhú Singh replied that he did not think it worthy of himself to oppose Jawáhir Singh, whose forefathers had been of the lowest dependents and creatures of his ancestors, but that whosoever liked might go against him Accord-

ingly Dalel Singh and other Rájpúts, to the number of about 20,000 horse, and an equal body of foot soldiers, went to oppose Jawáhir Singh, who, finding it difficult to force his way, resolved to fight A battle ensued The Rájpúts showed such bravery and courage, that they destroyed about 20,000 horse and foot of the army of Jawáhir Singh Many also drank the cup of death on their part Jawáhir Singh, not being able to stand before the cruel sword of the Rájpúts, took to flight alone, and with great difficulty and pain reached Díg and Kumbher His guns, elephants, horses, treasure, and all the furniture of pomp, fell into the hands of the Rájpúts, who, after staying a few days on the field, returned to their respective residences

Jawáhir Singh felt great shame of this defeat, and much of the vanity and pride which he had entertained was reduced It is said that Jawáhir Singh had made a soldier his associate and had great friendship for him * * This soldier, having been guilty of some improper act, was disgraced * * One day, when the Ját chief had gone hunting with only a few attendants, that soldier, taking his sword and shield, went to the place where Jawáhir Singh was standing carelessly with a few men, and struck him a blow with his sword, saying, "This is the punishment of the disgrace I have received" In one blow there was an end of Jawáhir Singh's existence, who departed to the world of eternity in the month of Safar, 1182 A.H (June, 1768 A D) He was succeeded by his brother Ratan Singh * *

When Ratan Singh was killed by a *fakír*, the ministers of the State elevated his infant son, Ranjít Singh, to his place, and seated him upon the *masnad* of the chiefship Nuwul Singh and Bhawání Singh, sons of Suraj Mal, but by another wife, rose in opposition, and collected an army of Mahrattas and others, to the number of about 30,000 horse, and an equal number of foot soldiers The ministers of Ranjít called the Sikh forces from Láhore. These forces then entered the territories of the Ját, and stretched out their hands to plunder Although the Játs opposed them, yet they did not withhold their hands.

At last, the armies of Ranjít Singh, being collected, fought with the Sikhs, and drove them out of his possessions. Nuwul Singh and Bhawání Singh went with the Mahratta army towards Málwá and Ujjain. The son of Ballú Ját, who had raised a rebellion in the territory, and wished to alienate a part from it, and make himself its master, was also baffled in his schemes, and could not succeed in his object.

In the month of Safar, 1183 A.H. (June, 1769 A.D.), the town of Díg Kumbher twice caught fire, and about twelve or thirteen thousand men were burnt. No account was taken of the animals and houses which were consumed

In the same year Tukkají Holkar, son-in-law[1] of Malhar Ráo, Rám Chand Ganesh and other Mahrattas proceeded with a formidable army of one *lac* of horse and foot from the Dakhin, and reached the territory of Ranjít Singh A great conflict took place between the Ját and Mahratta forces, and numerous men on both sides fell in the field But the gale of victory blew in favour of the Mahratta army, and the Játs took refuge in the most fortified of their strongholds The Mahratta army overran and spread devastation in the country which belonged to Ranjít Singh Ját, from Ágra to Kol and Jalesar. The Játs, having assembled their forces, prepared to oppose them, and at last peace was made between the parties The Játs gave a contribution of about forty-five *lacs* of rupees to the Mahrattas, and saved the country from their depredations. Being restored to their possessions, they banished the fear of the Mahrattas from their minds. Civil feuds had broken out among Nuwul Singh, Ranjít Singh, and other sons and grandsons of Súraj Mal Ját, and great disturbances took place, in consequence.

Najaf Khán, in the commencement of the year 1187 A.H. (1773 A.D.), made an irruption into the territories of the Játs, the Bilúchís, Mewáttís, and other tribes also joined with him He brought many places which belonged to them into his

[1] [He was "no way related to Malhar Ráo"—Malcolm's *Central India*, vol. i. p 163, Grant Duff, vol ii p 196]

possession, and has continued to spread disturbances in their territories up to this day, the 9th of Jumáda-s sání, 1189 A.H. (Aug. 1775 A.D.). He subdued the Játs, and reduced the Rájas to subjection, as we have particularized in the chapter which gives his history. Najaf Khán took the fortress of Díg by storm from the Játs, who, according to some, also lost possession of Kumbher. This place, as well as A'gra, Mathurá, Bindrában, Kol, Jalesar and Kámá, beside many other *mahals*, fell into the possession of Najaf Khán, who at the present day, the 1st of the month of Jumáda-l awwal, 1192 A.H. (1 June, 1778 A.D.), has been engaged for some time in besieging the fort of Máchehrí.

Account of Bengal, Maksúdabád, and Patna 'Azímábád, and of the cities of Calcutta and Dacca

When the English had driven out Kásim 'Alí Khán from Bengal, Maksúdábád and 'Azímábád Patna, they confirmed the son of Ja'far 'Alí Khán in the deputy-governorship of Bengal, and Shitáb Rái in that of 'Azímábád Patna. The armies which were stationed in those provinces under the command of the former governors were all dismissed, and the necessary number of Telinga *barkandazes* were enlisted, to be kept at the disposal of the deputy-governors of the provinces. It is said that a very strange practice was introduced into the country, namely, that the English began to sell some articles themselves, and that they prohibited other traders from dealing in them according to former practice.

In the month of Shawwál, 1183 A.H. (Feb. 1770 A.D.), in the city of Calcutta, where the English resided, such a storm raged that many men were killed, and houses destroyed by the force of the hurricane. In the same year such a dreadful famine occurred in Calcutta, Bengal, and 'Azímábád, that in places where four *maunds* of grain had been sold for a rupee, even four *sirs* were not then to be obtained for the same money. Consequently many persons died of hunger. It is said that in Bengal and

'Azímábád about three million seven hundred thousand men were starved to death; and many sold their sons and daughters for grain, or for four or eight *anas* a piece. On account of this dearth, the English sent several hundred boats from Calcutta to Faizábád for the purpose of procuring grain Thus the price of corn was also raised in Faizábád and Lucknow.

It is said that in the month of Muharram, 1183 A.H. (May, 1769 A.D), such showers of hailstones fell, that the whole city of Calcutta, where the English resided, was reduced to ruins. Several men were killed, houses levelled to the ground, and only a few men survived. In the same month and the same year hailstones fell also in the city of Maksúdábád

It is said that the English are so just and honest, that they do not interfere with the wealth of any rich men, bankers, merchants and other people who reside in their cities, but, on the contrary, they are very kind to those who are wealthy But from those who are powerful they manage to obtain money by their wisdom and adroitness, and even by force if necessary, but they are not oppressive, and never trouble poor people They are a wonderful nation, endowed with equity and justice May they be always happy, and continue to administer justice!

Arrival of Governor General Hastings at Lucknow.

When, in 1198 A H (1784 A D), the news spread in Faizábád, Lucknow, and other places under the jurisdiction of the Nawáb Wazíru-l Mamálik Ásafu-d daula, ruler of the provinces of Oudh and Alláhábád, that the Governor General, Mr Hastings, was coming from Calcutta towards Lucknow, Nawáb Ásafu-d daula, with a view to welcome him, marched from that city on the 9th of Rabí'u-s sání, and encamped at Jhúsí, near Alláhábád. When the intelligence of the Governor General's arrival at Benares was received, the Nawáb despatched the minister, Haidar Beg Khán, accompanied by Almás 'Alí Khán, Governor of Kora and Etáwa, an officer of great ability and influence They met the Governor General at Benares, and having presented their *nazars*,

remained in attendance on him When the Governor General reached Allàhábád, Nawáb Ásafu-d daula crossed the river, and after an interview had taken place between these magnates, they came together to Lucknow. Great rejoicings were made by the people on account of the arrival of the Governor General, for the English are very just, equitable and humane

Destruction of Pilgrims at Hardwár.

Every year, in the month of Baisákh (April), the people of India, particularly Hindús, resort to Hardwár, a place of great sanctity, for the purpose of bathing, and a fair lasts for several days. It is said that in Jumáda-l awwal, 1198 A.H (April, 1784 A D), in the (Hindí) month of Baisákh, when the people had collected as usual, such a deadly blast arose that fifteen hundred persons, men and women, died from it in less than two hours In the same month and year thousands of persons lost their lives from starvation in Dehlí in a space of five or six days, on account of the dearth of corn. The famine raged from Multán down to Bengal and Maksúdábád, with such violence that people were reduced to a very deplorable state. They laboured under double difficulties, one the scarcity of grain, and the other the want of employment, which equally affected both the soldier and the tradesman

Mr Hastings, Governor General, imprisoned and sent home by orders of the King of England[1]

Mr Hastings, who some years previously had been appointed by the King of England as Governor of Bengal, Maksúdábád, and 'Azímábád Patna, revolted from his obedience, and paid no attention to the King's orders, declaring that he was a servant of the Kings of India[2] The King of England sent another governor to Calcutta in his place; and when he arrived in Calcutta, and

[1] [This short Extract has been retained, not for its accuracy, but for its native view of the subject]

[2] [The Directors of the East India Company]

went to visit Mr. Hastings, that gentleman killed him by the power of his sorceries.

After this, the King of England despatched another officer to fill the place of Mr. Hastings at Calcutta; but that gentleman declined to resign charge of the government. At last they determined on fighting a duel, with the understanding that the victor should assume the office of Governor A day was fixed, and on that day they fought a duel Mr Hastings escaped, but wounded his antagonist in the arm with a pistol-ball, who was consequently obliged to return to England.

The King of England then contrived a plot, and sent to Calcutta about four hundred European soldiers, in a vessel under the command of Mr. Macpherson, with a letter to Mr. Hastings, to the effect that, as in these days he had many battles to fight, Mr Macpherson had been despatched with these soldiers to reinforce him, and to render service to him whenever exigency might require it. Secret instructions were given to Mr. Macpherson and the soldiers to seize Mr Hastings and forward him to His Majesty's presence When the ship reached near Calcutta, Mr. Macpherson sent the Royal letter to Mr Hastings, and saluted him with the fire of guns of the ship Mr Hastings, having read the letter, embarked in a boat, and, in company of the other English officers who were with him in Calcutta, proceeded to welcome Mr Macpherson On his approaching the vessel, Mr Macpherson paid a salute, and with a double guard of the European soldiers, went from the ship into Mr Hastings's boat Immediately on boarding the boat, he ordered the soldiers to surround Mr Hastings, and having thus made him a prisoner, showed him the orders for his own appointment as Governor, and the warrant which His Majesty had given for the apprehension of Mr. Hastings, who saw no remedy but to surrender himself a prisoner Mr. Macpherson sent him to England in a ship under the custody of the European guard which had come out for that purpose.

CXVI.

TÁRÍKH-I SHAHÁDAT-I FARRUKH SIYAR

OF

MIRZÁ MUHAMMAD BAKHSH.

[THE full title of this work is *Táríkh-i Shahádat-i Farrukh Siyar wa Julus-i Muhammad Sháh.* The author, Mirzá Muhammad Bakhsh, was a poet, and wrote under the name Áshob Nothing has been found about him beyond what he himself tells us in his Preface He was a soldier, and served with Nawáb Mu'ínu-l Mulk, "from the beginning to the end of the war with Ahmad Sháh Abdálí" He records how in this war he personally overthrew and granted quarter to three Abdálí horsemen, for which exploit he obtained great applause and reward. Afterwards he served under Khán-khánán (Intizámu-d daula), and obtained a *mansab* of 2000, with his ancestral title of Kaswar Khán, but he adds that this title was beyond his deserts, and he remained contented with his simple name of Muhammad Bakhsh Subsequently he acted in company with 'Imádu-l Mulk Gházíu-d dín Khán He seems to have been a bold dashing officer, and he had several brothers and friends serving with him His name frequently appears in the course of the work when he records what he himself did or saw, as in the Extract which follows.

The work bears no special relation to the death of Farrukh Siyar The author's intention was to write the history of "the hundred years from the death of Aurangzeb to the present time, 1196 A.H" (1782 A D), but Sir H M Elliot's MS and another in the Library of the India Office close with the return of Nádir Sháh, and the death of Zakariya Khán, governor of the

Panjáb. The history is very summary up to the beginning of the reign of Muhammad Sháh, after which it is written in full detail The author acknowledges his obligations to the *Táríkh-i Muhammad Sháh*, but has also recorded "what he heard from trustworthy persons, and what he saw when serving Sultáns and *wazírs*," In his Preface he mentions the works that he used for his Introduction They are the usual authorities the *Akbar-náma*, *Tabakát-i Akbari*, *Ikbál-náma-i Jahángíri*, "the Journal which Jahángír himself wrote in a very pleasant style," and many other works. There are some references also to his own poetical productions—a poem of 700 couplets called *Falak-áshob*, written at Bhartpúr, "one of the strong fortresses of Súraj Mal Ját," and another called *Kar-náma*, "Book of Deeds," in 3000 couplets, written by command to celebrate the wars of Nawáb Mu'ínu-l Mulk.

In the course of the Preface he speaks of the English in highly eulogistic terms. He specially mentions Captain Jonathan Scott, whose learning and acquirements he extols in verse, and for whose encouragement he is grateful. He also acknowledges the countenance and kindness which he received from Colonel Polier at Lucknow

SIZE—9 inches by 8, 670 pages of 15 lines each.]

EXTRACT

[When Nizámu-l Mulk went forth to treat with Nádir Sháh, the author of this work, with several horsemen consisting of his brethren and near relations, by the strength of their horses, but with great difficulty and much management, got in front of the elephants of Ásaf Jáh Nizámu-l Mulk, and arrived first at the battle-field * * As we were before all, we had the first sight. The Persians and others of Nádir's army, having dismounted and picketed their horses, were plundering and ransacking without check. They had broken open the chests with blows of axes and swords, torn in pieces the bags of gold and silver, and having scattered the contents on the ground, were engaged in

picking them up. Furniture, especially the culinary utensils of silver and copper, fell into the hands of the plunderers.

When we reached the place of meeting, it was dark, and every one, great and small, remained on the spot he first reached. His Majesty approached with a large escort of men and guns with great splendour. Next came the train of the chief *wazir* 'Azímu-llah Khán Zahíru-d daula Bahádur His elephant was in armour, and he himself rode in an iron *howda*, and was clothed in armour from head to foot, so that his eyes were the only parts of his body that were visible. He was attended by a suitable escort of men and arms, and made his obeisance to his monarch, and his *salám* to Ásaf Jáh Next came the *Wazíru-l mamalik* Bahádur * * All the chiefs were mounted on elephants clad in armour, in war *howdas* of iron variously ornamented, and all the elephant riders from the greatest to the least were covered with arms and armour from head to foot]

CXVII

WÁKI'ÁT-I AZFARÍ.

[THIS is one of the works mentioned by Sir H M Elliot as containing matter for the history of Sháh 'Álam He did not obtain a copy of the work, and all that is known about it is derived from a letter written to Sir Henry by Sir Walter Elliot It says, "The *Waki'at-i Azfari* is a mere antobiography of an individual of no note. This Azfarí had some intercourse with Ghulám Kádir in his youth, and gives a few particulars of events which passed under his own observation" From the extracts inclosed in this letter it is apparent that the work was written after the death of Ghulám Kádir, which occurred in 1788 A.D.]

CXVIII.

BAHRU-L MAWWÁJ

OF

MUHAMMAD 'ALÍ KHÁN ANSÁRÍ

The author of this work is Muhammad 'Alí Khán Ansárí, Ibn 'Izzatu-d daula Hidáyatu-llah Khán, son of Shamsu-d daula Lutfu-llah Khán Sádik Tahawwur Jang

Being devoted from his early youth, as most of these authors say of themselves, to history and studies subsidiary to it, and passing most of his time in the company of those who spoke and wrote of these subjects, he determined upon writing a general history, and as he had already written an account of the Prophets, he thought he could not do better than devote his time to a more secular History, embracing the lives of the Kings who in past times have ruled upon the earth, so that, through both his labours combined, he might derive the double reward of hope of heaven and advantage upon earth. Relying, therefore, upon the help of God, he allowed "the parrot of his tongue to expatiate in the garden of language," and after spending a very long time upon his compilation, he completed it in the year 1209 A H., corresponding with A.D 1794-5.

It is a comprehensive and useful work, as will be seen from the list of contents given below, but it presents nothing particularly worthy of extract.

The work is divided into nine Chapters, and forty-nine Sections, fancifully called seas (*bahr*) and waves (*mauj*) respectively, and hence the title of *Bahru-l Mawwaj*, "The Tempestuous Sea."

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SIZE—Large 8vo, containing 437 pages, with 17 lines to a page.

This work is known to me only from a copy in the Library of the Rája of Benares, and I have never heard of any other A ponderous commentary on the Kurán bears the same title

CXIX.

'IBRAT-NÁMA

OF

FAKÍR KHAIRU-D DÍN MUHAMMAD

[The author of this work was Fakír Khairu-d dín Alláhábádí, who also wrote the History of Jaunpúr translated by Major Pogson and the *Balwant-nama*, to be hereafter noticed During the latter part of his life he resided at Jaunpúr, in the enjoyment of a pension from the British Government, which he had earned principally by the assistance which he rendered to Mr. Anderson in his negociations with the Mahrattas He left the service of Mr. Anderson through sickness, and was afterwards in the service of one of the Imperial princes. Subsequently he retired to Lucknow, and obtained some favour from the Nawáb Sa'ádat 'Alí, whom he greatly extols, and whose high sounding titles he recites in full as "I'timudu-d daulat wau-d dín I'tizádu-l Islám wau-l Muslimín Wazíru-l mamálik 'Umdatu-l Mulk Yamínu-d daulat Nazimu-l Mulk Nawáb Sa'ádat 'Alí Khán Bahádur Mubáriz Jang." The author died about the year 1827

The work may be considered as a History of the reigns of 'Álamgír II and Sháh 'Álam, for although it begins with Tímúr, the lives of the Emperors before 'Álamgír are dismissed in a very summary way, and occupy altogether only 25 pages. The main portion of the work, the reign of Sháh 'Álam especially, is very full and minute, and the author shows himself particularly well acquainted with the affairs of Sindhia. The work is of considerable length, and is divided into years and many chapters. It closes soon after recounting the horrible cruelties practised on the Emperor Sháh 'Álam and his family by the infamous Ghulám

Kádir, whose atrocities he describes at length, and whose conduct he denounces in the strongest language "The greatest of all the calamities that have fallen upon Hindústán were the acts of the traitor Ghulám Kádir, which deprived the Imperial house of all its honour and dignity, and consigned himself, his relations, and his tribe, to everlasting infamy."

A subsequent chapter describes the death of Ghulám Kádir, whose career induced the author to give his work the title of *'Ibrat-náma*, "Book of Warning" It extends to 1204 A H (1790 A D), and was written before the end of the reign of Sháh 'Alam The history is well written, in simple intelligible language, and deserves more notice than the limits of this work will allow Some Extracts follow, translated chiefly by the Editor, but a few passages are by *munshis*.

Sir H Elliot's copy was bought at Lucknow, and is a folio 14 inches by 9, containing 500 pages of 25 lines to the page]

EXTRACTS

Mutiny against 'Imadu-l Mulk Gházíu-d dín

['Imádu-l Mulk, after arranging the revenue and other matters (upon the accession of 'Álamgír II), set about a reformation of the cavalry and *sin dágh*[1] system, which had fallen into a very corrupt state He removed the Emperor from Sháh-Jahánábád to Pánípat, and then, taking away from the officials of the cavalry the lands which they held round the capital, he appointed his own officers to manage them. The chiefs of the cavalry, being hurt by the deprivation of their sources of income, and being encouraged by the Emperor and some of his councillors, were clamorous against the *wazír*, and sent their *wakíls* to him to demand their pay. The *wazír* directed Najíb Khán to inquire into the matter, and he set his son, Zábita Khán, to the work * *

The soldiers, dissatisfied with their *wakíls*, and ready for a disturbance, sent thirty or forty of their most violent leaders

[1] [The word *sin* seems to have a wider meaning than that suggested in page 136 *supra* There were various *dághs* In the *Chahar Gulzár*, the *shamsher* (sword) *dágh* is mentioned]

to get redress for their grievances These men, complaining and railing against their officers, went to the pavilion of the *wazír*, and, collecting there in a mob, raised a great tumult. The *wazír* heard this, and, proud of his rank and power, came fearlessly out to quell the disturbance The rioters seized him, and began to abuse him in terms unmentionable Numbers gathered together from every side, and the mob increased They tore off his clothes, and in the struggle his turban even fell from his head Then they dragged him through the streets of Pánípat to their camp The *wazír's* forces, hearing of the disturbance, gathered and prepared to fight, but when they saw their master in the hands of the mutineers, they were helpless. The chiefs of the *dagh* went to the *wazír* with apologies, and brought him a turban and such garments as they could get. The *wazír*, seeing how frightened they were, flew into a rage, and reviled them Meanwhile a message was brought from the Emperor to the officers, offering to make himself responsible for their pay if they would deliver over the *wazír* to him a prisoner, and telling them that if he escaped from their hands, they would have hard work to get their pay from him

The passions of the mob being somewhat quieted, their chiefs thought that the best way of saving themselves was to communicate the Emperor's message to the *wazír* They came humbly before him, with importunities, and brought an elephant, on which they seated him Hasan Khán, one of the chiefs, took his seat in the *howda* with him, and attended him as his servant to the door of his tent. As soon as the *wazír* had alighted, Hasan Khán also dismounted from the elephant, and mounting a horse went off to the camp. The *wazír* entered his tent, and sat down. He then inquired what had become of Hasan Khán, and on being told, he went out and mounted an elephant. His own officers and soldiers were collected there, prepared to act, and waited only for directions He gave them orders to kill every man of that riotous party, whoever he might be, and wherever they might find him; not one was to be allowed to escape with life The

Rohillas of Najíb Khán and other adherents fell upon the doomed band, and in a short space of time no trace of them was left. Many were killed, and a few with (only) a nose and two ears escaped by flight. 'Imádu-l Mulk was much hurt and troubled by the part the Emperor had taken In a few days they returned to Dehlí, and he, leaving the Emperor under the watch of his confidants, proceeded to Láhore]

'Imádu-l Mulk Ghâziu-d dín seizes the widow of Mu'ínu-l Mulk

['Imádu-l Mulk formed the design of recovering Láhore, and marched for that purpose from Dehlí with a large army, taking with him Prince 'Álí Gauhar. They went forward as if on a hunting excursion Under the advice of Adína Beg Khán, he sent forward from Lúdhiyána a force under the command of Saiyid Jamílu-d dín Khán, which accomplished the march of forty or fifty *kos* in one day and night, and reached Láhore early on the following morning The widow of Mu'ínu-l Mulk was asleep in her dwelling, and awoke to find herself a prisoner She was carried to the camp of 'Imádu l Mulk, who, upon her arrival, waited upon her, and begged to be excused for what he had done Having consoled her, he kept her near himself, and gave the province of Láhore to Adína Beg Khán for a tribute of thirty *lacs* of rupees. Prince 'Álí Gauhar was annoyed by the complaints and reproaches of the widow of Mu'ínu-l Mulk, and tried to induce 'Imádu-l Mulk to reinstate her, but the minister paid no heed to his remonstrances, and annoyed him in every way The widow, hurt by the treatment she had received, let loose her tongue, and in a loud voice reviled and abused the *wazír* She added, "This conduct of yours will bring distress upon the realm, destruction to Sháh-Jahánábád, and disgrace to the nobles and the State. Ahmad Sháh Durrání will soon avenge this disgraceful act and punish you "

Ahmad Sháh (Abdálí), on hearing of this daring act of 'Imádu-l Mulk, came hastily to Láhore Adína Beg Khán, being unable to resist, fled towards Hánsí and Hissár. 'Imádu-l

Mulk was frightened, and by the good offices of Prince 'Álí Gauhar, he succeeded in effecting a reconciliation with the widow of Mu'ínu-l Mulk. When Ahmad Sháh drew near to Dehlí, 'Imádu-l Mulk had no resource but submission, so he sought pardon of his offence through the mediation of the widow. With all the marks of contrition he went forth to meet the Sháh, and the widow interceding for him, he was confirmed in his rank and office, upon condition of paying a heavy tribute. On the 7th of Jumáda-l awwal, 1170 A H. (28 Jan 1757 A D), he entered the fortress of Sháh-Jahánábád, and had an interview with the Emperor 'Álamgír He remained in the city nearly a month, plundering the inhabitants, and very few people escaped being pillaged. * *

When Ahmad Sháh demanded the tribute from 'Imádu-l Mulk, the latter asked how it could be thought possible for him to have such a sum of money, but he added that if a force of Durránís and a Prince of the house of Tímúr were sent with him, he might raise a large sum from the country of Sirhind The Abdálí named Prince 'Álí Gauhar, but that Prince had been greatly pained and disgusted by the wilfulness and want of respect shown by 'Imádu-l Mulk on their march to Láhore, so he declined. * * 'Imádu-l Mulk, having assembled a large force, went into Oudh, and Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula marched boldly out of Lucknow to oppose him, and took post at Sándí Conflicts between their advanced forces went on for several days, but an agreement was arrived at through the medium of Sa'du-llah Khán, by which Shujá'u-d daula agreed to pay five *lacs* of rupees in cash to furnish supplies]

Transactions of the year 1173 A H (1759-60 A D). *Martrydom of 'Álamgír II*[1]

'Imádu-l Mulk (Gházíu-d dín Khán), who was very apprehensive of Najíbu-d daula, excited Dattá Sindhia and Jhankú Mah-

[1] [Sir H M Elliot selected this passage from the *Akhbaru-l Muhabbat*, but as it was copied verbatim from this work, it has been restored to the rightful owner]

ratta to hostilities against him, and promised them several *lacs* of rupees, on condition of their expelling him from the country which he occupied. The Mahratta chiefs accordingly, at the head of their southern armies, attacked Najíbu-d daula with impetuosity, and he, as long as he was able, maintained his ground against that force, which was as numerous as ants or locusts, till at last, being able to hold out no longer, he took refuge in the fort of Sakartál The southrons laid siege to the fort, and having stopped the supplies of grain, put him to great distress Sindhia, seeing Najíbu-d daula reduced to extremities, sent for 'Imádu-l Mulk from Sháh-Jahánábád, in order to complete the measures for chastising him

'Imádu-l Mulk, suspicious of the Emperor, and knowing that 'Intizamu-d daula Khán-khánán was his chief adviser, murdered that noble in the very act of saying his prayers He then treacherously sent Mahdí 'Alí Khán, of Kashmír, to the Emperor, to report that a most saintly *darwesh* from Kandahár had arrived in the city, who was lodged in the *kotila* of Fíroz Sháh, and that he was well worth seeing The Emperor, who was very fond of visiting *fakirs*, and particularly such a one as had come from the country of Ahmad Sháh, became extremely desirous of seeing him, and went to him almost unattended When he reached the appointed place, he stopped at the door of the chamber where his assassins were concealed, and Mahdí Alí Khán relieved him of the sword which he had in his hand, and put it by As he entered the house, the curtains were down and fastened to the ground Mirzá Bábar, son of I'zzu-d dín, son-in law of the Emperor, beginning to suspect foul play, drew his sword, and wounded several of the conspirators Upon this the myrmidons of 'Imádu-l Mulk surrounded and took him prisoner, and having taken the sword from him, placed him in a *palankin*, and sent him back to the royal prison Some evil-minded Mughals were expecting the Emperor in the chamber, and when they found him there unattended and alone, they jumped up, and inflicting on him

repeated wounds with their daggers, brought him to the ground, and then threw his body out of the window, stripped off all the clothes, and left the corpse stark naked After lying on the ground for eighteen hours, his body was taken up by order of Mahdí 'Alí Khán, and buried in the sepulchre of the Emperor Humáyún[1] This tragedy occurred on Thursday, the 20th of Rabí'u-s sání, 1173 A H (30th Nov 1759 A D) On the same day a youth named Muhíu-l Millat, son of Muhíu-s Sunnat, son of Kám Bakhsh, was raised to the throne with the title of Sháh Jahán II

'Imádu-l Mulk hastened to Sakartál, and came to an understanding with Najíbu-d daula In the mean time, the report of Ahmad Sháh Durrání's invasion spread among the people 'Imádu-l Mulk, in fear of his life, saw no other means of safety than in seeking the protection of Súraj Mal, and accordingly departed without delay for that chief's territory. Please God, an account of the arrival of Sháh Durrání shall be related hereafter

Insult to Sháh 'A'lam.

It is a custom among the Hindús that at the *holí* festival they throw dust upon each other, and indulge in practical jokes. On the 14th of Jumáda-l awwal, in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of His Majesty Sháh 'A'lam, when this festival occurred, A'nand Ráo Narsí dressed up a person in fine garments to represent the Emperor, and applied long false mustaches and a beard to his lips and chin The person was placed on an old bedstead, with a lad in his arms, in the dress of a woman, to represent the Emperor's daughter, whom he very tenderly loved, and always kept in his presence when he went out in a litter or on an elephant The bedstead was carried on the shoulders of

[1] The circumstances of this Emperor's death are not mentioned by the ordinary authorities Dow is the most circumstantial Compare Mill's *British India*, vol ii p 473, Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol ii p 137, *Seir Mutaqherin*, vol ii p 166, *Life of Hafiz Rahmat Khan*, p 57, Elphinstone's *India*, vol ii p 635, Scott's *History of the Deccan*, vol ii p 236, Dow's *History of India*, vol ii p 473, Franklin's *Shah Aulum*, p 13

four men, and before it went several persons of low caste in the habit of the Emperor's attendants, with clubs, umbrellas, and other *insignia* of royalty in their hands. In this manner they proceeded in regular procession, beating drums, and surrounded by a multitude of spectators. They passed by the Jahán-numá palace, where the Emperor was sitting. This great insolence, however, excited no indignation in His Majesty's noble mind; but, on the contrary, he ordered a reward of five hundred rupees to be given to those persons. Sháh Nizámu-d dín, who was an enemy of Ánand Ráo, availed himself of the opportunity, and having succeeded in kindling the Emperor's anger, represented the matter on His Majesty's part to Mahárája Sindhia, in whose camp Ánand Ráo resided * * The Mahárája was highly incensed on being informed of this disrespectful and impudent proceeding, and immediately ordered that the tents of Ánand Ráo should be plundered, and that he should be sent to Ráj Muhammad, *dárogha* of artillery. No sooner was the order passed than his tents and all his property were given up to plunder, and he himself was seized and placed in front of a gun. The Emperor, on being informed of the orders which the Mahárája had given, sent one of his eunuchs to tell the Mahárája that His Majesty was pleased to pardon the offender, but that he hoped, as a warning to others, the Mahárája would turn him out of his camp. Orders were accordingly given by the Mahárája, he was called back from the gun, and his life was spared, but he was disgraced and banished from the presence. Ánand Ráo remained concealed in the camp for a few days, and after having collected his property which was left from the spoil, he went away to Ujjain.

THIRTIETH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1202 A.H. (1787-8 A.D.)

Atrocities of Ghulám Kádir.

[When Ghulám Kádir Khán and Isma'il Beg Khán had made their way into Dehlí by the contrivance of Názir Mansúr 'Alí

Khán and the connivance of the Mughal chiefs, Ghulám Kádir assumed the chief authority He began to oppress the citizens, and demanded money from the Emperor. These proceedings made the Emperor very angry. Ghulám Kádir went to the Emperor to ask him for the pay of the soldiers, and for some supplies to maintain his own dignity The Emperor replied that if he possessed any money, he would not withhold it Ghulám Kádir replied that one of the Princes must be placed in his charge, so that he might go and fight with the Mahrattas The Emperor told him to go out of the city to hunt, and that Sulaimán Shukoh should then be sent to him He accordingly departed, and fixed his head-quarters near the *kotila* of Fíroz Sháh. Afterwards the Prince was mounted on an elephant and was brought with his retinue to the camp. The officers presented their *nazars*, and five hundred horse, a regiment of foot and four guns were placed at the door of the Prince's tent as a guard * *

Ghulám Kádir proceeded to the palace, * * and urged the Emperor to procure money from somewhere and to give it to him for the pay of the troops At this juncture a message was brought to Ghulám Kádir from the *Maliku Zamaniya* (the queen dowager), offering to give him ten *lacs* of rupees, on condition of Sháh 'Álam being deposed, of Prince Bedár Bakht, son of the late Emperor Ahmad Sháh, being raised to the throne, and the fort and city being placed in his possession Ghulám Kádir agreed to this, and confirmed the plan by his word and covenant, expressing his devotion to the house of Bábar On the 26th Shawwál, 1202 A H (31st July, 1788 A.D.), he went to the palace, attended by five hundred men, to demand money for the soldiers, and to express his fears of the Emperor On the Emperor inquiring what he meant, he replied that his enemies and detractors had raised suspicions against him in the Emperor's mind, and to guard against this he required that the charge of the palace should be placed in the hands of his own people, so that he might come and state freely what he had to represent. The Emperor

replied that he seemed destined to be the ruin of the royal house, and that his name would stand infamous on the page of history Názir Mansúr 'Alí Khán observed that Isma'íl Khán was present with a statement and agreement, and that (for confirming it by oath) he had also brought the Holy Kurán. He was called forward, the compact was confirmed upon the Holy Kurán, under the signatures of himself and Ghulám Kádir The Emperor said, "I place myself under the protection of the Kurán, and submit to your wishes"

Having obtained the Emperor's consent, the *Názir* placed the gates of the palace in charge of Ghulám Kádir's men * * Four thousand horse were posted in and about the palace, * * and all the environs were in the possession of the men of Ghulám Kádir and the *Mirzá* (Bedár Bakht) They took possession of the doors of the female apartments, beat the eunuchs with stones and sticks, seized upon the goods and furniture, and took the wardrobe and the store-rooms out of the hands of the royal servants A few personal attendants and eunuchs were all that remained with the Emperor No one was left who could go out to ascertain what was passing, and the Emperor was in great trouble and anxiety At that moment Prince Akbar said, "One choice is yet left if you will allow us, we brothers will all fall upon those traitors, and will bravely encounter martyrdom" He replied, "No one can escape the decrees of the Almighty, there is no contending against doom, the power is now in the hands of others" Prince Akbar raised a great cry, drew his sword, and placed it to his throat to kill himself The Emperor snatched the sword from his hand, and put it to his own throat A cry arose from all who were present, and the noise spread through the palace. Ghulám Kádir came in alarmed The Emperor, with great politeness, called him near, and placing his head upon his own breast, said in his ear, "Twenty *lacs* of rupees have been provided, but let them be expended in the business of the Mahrattas, and not in a way that will bring censure and lasting disgrace upon me" * *

On the 27th Shawwál Ghulam Kádir, having come to an

understanding with Isma'il Beg Khán, went into the presence of the Emperor, who was seated in his private apartments, and began to speak fawningly The Emperor said, "I relied upon your promise and your oath on the Kurán, and kept myself in private, tell me what you require, for I have no remedy" Ghulám Kádir frowned and replied, "I have no reliance on you He who speaks of sitting in private should give up the claim to sovereignty" At that moment Gul Muhammad Khán brought forward Prince Bedár Bakht Ghulám Kádir insolently stepped forward, and took the Emperor's dagger from his girdle, while his companions wrested the swords from the hands of the Princes The Emperor's personal attendants and the eighteen Princes were removed to the *salátín*[1] Ghulám Kádir then took the hand of Prince Bedár Bakht, and placed him on the royal seat The chiefs who were present made their offerings, and the drums were beaten to proclaim the name of Bedár Bakht He thus ascended the throne on the 27th Shawwál, 1204 A H (22nd June, 1790)

On the 8th Zí-l ka'da Ghulám Kádir sent his stern officers to Bedár Bakht for ten *lacs* of rupees He excused himself, saying that the Imperial family had been swept clean, but he would send what he could scrape together He sent some vessels of silver and other articles, and said that if more was required, application should be made to Sindhia and the Rájas who were well affected towards the Imperial throne Rohilla 'Alí said, "Your Majesty must go into the private apartments, for the money will not be obtained without some trouble." He said, "If there is any more money, you are welcome to it I came out of the *salatín* with a shirt and an old pair of trowsers, which I still have, but you know all about it" Ghulám Kádir took the gold and silver-mounted articles from the apartments of Sháh 'Álam and the princes and princesses, then piled them in a heap and burnt them, and sent the metal to the mint to be coined He

[1] [This word recurs, and, as here used, it probably is an abbreviation of the word *deorhi saláţín*, apartments of the Princes (See *supra*, p 141)]

took several cart-loads of swords, daggers, and muskets, belonging to the Emperor and Princes, some he gave to his companions, and some he sent to the store-house.

Sháh 'Álam and the Princes were kept as prisoners in the Motí Mahall Ghulám Kádir ordered that Prince Akbar and Prince Sulaimán Shukoh should be bound and whipped by the carpet-spreaders Sháh 'Álam exclaimed, "Whatever is to be done, do to me! These are young and innocent" Bedár Bakht now came in. Ghulám Kádir abused them, and put every one of them in the hot sunshine Bedár Bakht, having sat there a little while, informed him how to find money, and said, "My servants are at your command, threaten them, and ask for it" The female attendants of the palace were then bound, and hot oil being poured on the palms of their hands and their feet, they gave information of two ice vaults from which a box of gold, silver and mounted vessels was taken * * Sháh 'Álam was sitting in the sun and complaining, when Ghulám Kádir said to some truculent Afghans, "Throw this babbler down and blind him" Those men threw him down, and passed the needle into his eyes They kept him down safe on the ground for a time with blows of sticks, and Ghulám Kádir asked him derisively if he saw anything and he replied, "Nothing but the Holy Kurán between me and you" All night long he and his children and the women of his palace kept up loud cries Ghulám Kádir remained that night in the Motí Mahall, and hearing these cries, he writhed like a snake, and directed his servants to beat and kill those who made them But some of these men dreaded the questioning of the day of judgment, and held their hands.

On the 9th Zí-l ka'da, * * Ghulám Kádir said to Bedár Bakht, "Come out, and I will show you a sight" Perforce, he went out of the door, and sat down. Ghulám Kádir went to Sháh 'Álam, and said, "Find me some gold, or I will send you to join the dead." Sháh 'Álam reviled and reproached him, saying, "I am in your power, cut off my head, for it is better to die than to live like this" Ghulám Kádir sprang up, and threw himself upon the

Emperor's bosom, Kandahárí Khán and Purdil Khán seized his hands, two of their companions held his feet; Kandahárí Khán tore out one of his eyes, and that bloodthirsty reckless ruffian tore out the other with his own hands, amid the wailings of the Emperor Ghulám Kádir then gave orders that the needle should be passed into the eyes of Prince Akbar, Sulaimán Shukoh, and Ahsan Bakht. The ladies came from behind their curtains, and threw themselves at the feet of Ghulám Kádir, to pray for mercy, but he kicked them on their breasts, and sent them away The heart of Miyár[1] Singh was in flames, and, overpowered with rage, he cried, "Ghulám Kádir! cease your fury, and withdraw your hands from these helpless (princes), for if you do not, you will hardly escape from me" Seeing his passion, Ghulám Kádir arose, and said, "Pinion all three of them, and I will consider what to do with them another time" He then ordered some of his followers who were present to beat them with sticks till they were senseless, and to put them in prison Then he called for a painter, and said, "Paint my likeness at once, sitting, knife in hand, upon the breast of Sháh 'Álam, digging out his eyes" He then forbad his attendants to bring any food or water either to Sháh 'Álam or his sons

The poor Emperor kept groaning and crying, but no one heeded him. Next day Bedár Bakht sent two surgeons to dress his wounds, and ordered him to be supplied with water His servants reported to him that the poor Emperor's eyes were running with blood, and that the (only) water he had to drink was what flowed from his eyes. * * Ghulám Kádir went to Sháh 'Álam, and seizing him by the beard, said, "I have inflicted all this severity upon you for your faults, but I spare your life for God's sake, otherwise I should have no scruple in tearing you limb from limb." On the 12th Zí-l ka'da he went into the jewel-house, and took out a chest and a box of jewels, he also took several copies of the *Kurán*, and eight large baskets of books out of the library On the 13th his spies informed him

[1] [A very doubtful name It is variously written "Matár," "Biyár," etc]

that two sisters of Sulaimán Shukoh, one aged five years and the other four, had died from thirst When he heard it, he laughed and said, "Let them be buried where they lie." One of his men went to Bedár Bakht, and said, "Ghulám Kádir wants the jewels you have" The Prince immediately brought them out of his private apartments, and handed them over

Next day Ghulám Kádir, taking Bedár Bakht with him, went to Malika Zamániya and Sáhiba Mahall,[1] and said, "Where is the money that was promised?" They said, 'What you demand from us is a mere fancy and dream of yours" When he heard this, he sent a person into the private apartments, with directions to bring them both out, with only the garments they stood upright in, and to seize upon all the money and valuables which could be found Accordingly they took Malika Zamániya and Sáhiba Mahall in the dresses they were wearing (*ba libas-i badan*), and placing them in a *rath*, conducted them with three hundred attendants to the Motí Mahall Workmen were then sent in to break down the roof and walls. Neither Nádir Sháh, Ahmad Sháh Durrání, nor Táráji Bháo, had ever dreamed of plundering the ladies of the *harem*, but now all the valuables, the accumulations of fifty or sixty years, were brought out * *

On the 25th Zí-l ka'da Ghulám Kádir called Prince Akbar, Sulaimán Shukoh, and the other Princes, nineteen in number, before him, and with harsh words called upon them to sing and dance before him They declined, but he would not listen to them, saying that he had long heard praises of their singing and dancing He then commanded his attendants to cut of the Princes' noses if they did not sing. The Princes and boys, seeing there was no escaping from his commands, did as they were directed, and sang and danced He was very pleased, and asked them what recompense they desired They said, "Our father and children are in great want of water and food, we ask for some" He gave his consent He then turned all his attendants out of

[1] [Both these ladies were widows of Muhammad Sháh The former was a daughter of the Emperor Farrukh Siyar]

the room, and, placing his head upon the knees of Prince Akbar, went to sleep, leaving his sword and knife in their presence. He closed his eyes for an hour *(sá'at)*, and then getting up, he slapped each of them on the neck, and said, "Can such (craven) spirits entertain the idea of reigning? I wanted to try your courage. If you had any spirit, you would have made an end of me with my sword and dagger." Then abusing them in foul disgusting words, he sent them out of his presence.

Afterwards he called for Bedár Bakht and his brothers, and placed wine before them. With his own hands he several times filled the cups, and they continued drinking till evening, when they got up and danced and sang, and acted disgracefully. A eunuch came in, and told him that a daughter of Sháh 'Álam, a child of ten years old, had died of hunger and thirst crouching on the earth. He cried, "Bury her just as she is, in the place where she lies." When Rája Míyar Singh heard of these things, he sent bread and provisions for Sháh 'Álam and his children. Ghulám Kádir was angry—he sent for the Rája, and frowning at him, asked, "What concern have you with those men? Remove your people from the watch, for I will place Rohillas to keep guard." The Rája told him that the day of retribution for these deeds was approaching, and that it was not well to offend the chiefs. He replied that he would do whatever came into his heart. * *

On the 17th Zí-l ka'da *(sic)* Wai Khailí (his myrmidon) reported to him that he had probed the walls of the apartments of Malika Zamániya and Sáhiba Mahall till he had made them like sieves, that he had stripped everybody, and that no hole had been left unsearched by his fingers. He had found a few pearls. One of Bedár Bakht's ladies had died of fright at what was passing, and now the Afgháns, having stripped the ladies, were thinking about taking them with (without?) gowns or bodices.[1] He added, "The power is in your hands, but it is not well to cast such shame upon the honour of princes." It all depended on his pleasure, but Ghulám Kádir replied that when the Em-

[1] باجامه و كرتي

peror's servants plundered his father's private apartments, they had done worse than that to his women[1] "Now," said he, "it shall be a sight for the time, for my men shall take the hands of kings' daughters, conduct them home, and take possession of their persons without marriage" He then ordered Wai Khailí to go and take possession of the house of Khairu-n nisa Begam, sister of Sháh 'Álam, to strip her daughters and women naked, and to search for jewels After taking * * all they could find, he askod the Princes for gold, and they replied, "You have taken all we have, and we are now ready to die" At his command the stony-hearted carpet-spreaders beat them so that the blood gushed from their mouths and noses Then they placed the Princes in the *salatin*.

Ghulám Kádir heard from Wai Khailí of the beauty of the daughters of Mirza Haiká and Mirza Jaika (?), and when he was sitting in the Moti Mahall in the evening, he ordered these unhappy ladies to be placed before him without veils or curtains He was pleased with their beauty, showed them to his boon companions, and acted indecently to every one of them. When Bedár Bakht was informed of this, he beat himself upon the head and bosom, and sent an attendant to the ruffian, to dissuade him from such actions He replied (sarcastically), "What power has this slave to do anything against His Majesty?" He (Bedár Bakht) then wrote to Rája Miyár Singh, who shuddered when he read the letter, and went to Ghulám Kádir. The Rája called Ghulám Kádir out of that private room, and said to him, "It is not right to deal thus with the daughters of enemies. No one seizes sons and daughters for the faults of their fathers. Sháh 'Álam did not cast any evil looks upon the daughters or sisters of your father, refrain from such proceedings" Ghulám Kádir answered *(in coarse terms to the effect)* that he intended to take them into his *harem* and make them his concubines, and as for

[1] ["On this occasion the Emperor is said by tradition to have transmuted Ghulám Kádir Khán into a haram page"—Keene's *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, pp 101, 200 There is no mention of this in the *'Ibrat-náma*, and the narrative is rather against the tradition]

the other Princesses, he would give them to his Afgháns, so that they might have a chance of bringing forth men of courage. Rája Miyár Singh, against the will of Ghulám Kádir, went into the room, cast a sheet over (the Princesses' heads), and sent them home.]

Death of Ghulám Kádir.

[It is said that on the 18th Rabí'u-l awwal, Ghulám Kádir (*after being defeated by the forces of Sindhia*), started off for Ghaus-kada, his home, with only a few trusted followers mounted on swift horses. In the darkness of the night his companions lost him, he went one way, and they went another He endeavoured to find them, but did not succeed. The road was full of water and mud, and the horse putting his foot into a hole, rolled Ghulám Kádir to the ground The night was dark, and the way bristled with thorny acacias, so that he knew not which way to turn When the morning came, he looked around, and seeing some inhabited place, he proceeded thither On reaching the habitation, he put his head into the house of a *brahman* The master of the house, seeing a stranger in such a state, asked him what was the matter Ghulám Kádir answered that * * [1] But his own action betrayed him He took off a diamond ring from his finger, and gave it to the housekeeper as an inducement to guard him all day, and to guide him at night towards Ghaus-kada The *brahman* knew of his infamous character and evil deeds The *brahman* himself, in days gone by, had suffered at the hands of the ruffian, and his village had been ravaged His oppressor was now in his power, and he made the door fast * *

The *brahman* went in search of some chief who would appreciate the information he had to give, and was led by fortune to the tents of 'Alí Bahádur, to whom he communicated his intelligence 'Alí Bahádur showed him great attention, and sent a large party of horse forward with him, while he himself followed * * The horsemen entered the *brahman's* house, seized their prisoner, and

[1] [The words of the answer are not complete.]

bound him. With various indignities they brought him to 'Alí Bahádur, * * who sent him to the fort of the Mahrattas, * * under charge of Ráná Khán, who put a chain upon his legs, a collar on his neck, and conveyed him in a bullock-carriage to Sindhia, guarded by two regiments of sepoys and a thousand horse * * On the 4th Jumáda-s sání, under the orders of Sindhia, the ears of Ghulám Kádir were cut off and hung round his neck, his face was blackened, and he was carried round the camp and city. Next day his nose and upper lip were cut off, and he was again paraded On the third day he was thrown upon the ground, his eyes were torn out, and he was once more carried round After that his hands were cut off, then his feet, and last of all his head The corpse was then hung neck downwards from a tree A trustworthy person relates that a black dog, white round the eyes, came and sat under the tree and licked up the blood as it dripped The spectators threw stones and clods at it, but still it kept there On the third day, the corpse disappeared and the dog also vanished Mahárája Sindhia sent the ears and eyeballs to the Emperor Sháh 'Álam]

CXX

CHAHÁR GULSHAN

OF

RÁM CHATAR MÁN.

THIS work, which is also called *Akhbáru-l Nawádir*, "Accounts of Rare Things," was composed by Rái Chatar Mán Káyath in the year 1173 A H (1759 A D), the last sheets being finished only a week before his death As it was left in an unconnected shape, it was arranged and edited, after his death, by his grandson, Rái Bhán Ráizáda, in 1204 A H (1789-90 A D), as is shown by a chronogram in the Preface, but as the work ends with the accession of the nominal Emperor Sháh Jahán the Second in A H 1173, it is evident that the Editor has added nothing to his grandfather's labours

The Editor states that when Chatar Mán had travelled the road of eternity, he, as a dutiful grandson, was anxious to display this nosegay of wisdom to some effect, in order that those who wander in the garden of eloquence might, by a close inspection of its beauties, which are endowed with perpetual verdure, feel the bud of their heart expand with delight

The *Chahar Gulshan* or "Four Gardens," is, as the name implies, divided into four Books, and is said by the Editor to contain so much information in a small compass that it resembles the ocean placed in a cup The historical part is a mere abstract, and of no value, nor are any authorities quoted for its statements, but the work has other points of interest, especially in the matter of the Biographies of the Muhammadan saints,

which are written in a true spirit of belief, though the writer is a Hindú The accounts of the Hindu *fakirs*, the Itineraries, and the Statistical Tables of the twenty-two *súbas* of Hindústán, are also useful, though it is to be regretted that the latter are not given in sufficient detail to enable us to institute safe comparisons between its results and those given in the *A'ín-i Akbari*.

CONTENTS

The *Chahar Gulshan* is common in India, and I have seen several copies, none conspicuously good, except that in the possession of Nawáb 'Alí Muhammad Khán of Jhajjar.

Size—Quarto, 560 pages of 13 lines each

CXXI.

TA'RI'KH-I IBRA'HI'M KHA'N

[According to the author's statement in his Preface, "These wonderful events, forming a volume of warning for men of sagacity, are chronicled by the hasty pen of the humblest of slaves, 'Alí Ibráhím Khán, during the administration of the illustrious noble of celestial grandeur, the centre of the circle of prosperity, the ally of foe-crushing victory, the sun of the firmament of wisdom, the unfurler of the standards of pomp and dignity, the excellent prince bearing the highest titles, the privy councillor of His Majesty the King of England, the chief of mighty and magnificent rulers,—the Governor General, Charles, Earl of Cornwallis, may his good fortune last for ever!"

At the end of the volume we are informed that "this book, composed by the illustrious Nawáb Ibráhím Khán Bahádur, was completely written from beginning to end by the pen of Mulla Bakhsh at the town of Benares, and was finished in 1201 A H (1786 A D).

This work is very valuable for the clear and succinct account it gives of the Mahrattas. The whole of it was translated for Sir H. M. Elliot by the late Major Fuller, and is here printed with the exception of some unimportant passages, and the account of the battle of Pánípat, which has been previously drawn from another work written by one who took part in the battle

Size—6 inches by 4 219 pages of 9 lines each]

EXTRACTS.

As the comprehension of the design of this work is dependent on a previous acquaintance with the origin and genealogy of

Bálájí Ráo, the eloquent pen will first proceed to the discussion of that subject

Origin and Genealogy of the Mahrattas

Be it not hidden, that in the language of the people of the Dakhin, these territories and their dependencies are called "Dihast,"[1] and the inhabitants of the region are styled "Mahrattas" The Mahratti dialect is adopted exclusively by these classes, and the chieftainship of the Mahrattas is centred in the Bhonsla tribe The lineage of the Bhonslas is derived from the U'dipúr Rájas, who bear the title of Ráná, and the first of these, according to popular tradition, was one of the descendants of Naushírwán At the time when the holy warriors of the army of Islám subverted the realms of I'rán, Naushírwán's descendants were scattered in every direction, and one of them, having repaired to Hindústán, was promoted to the dignity of a Rája In a word, one of the Ráná's progeny afterwards quitted the territory of U'dipúr, in consequence of the menacing and disordered aspect of his affairs, and having proceeded to the country of the Dakhin, fixed his abode in the Carnatic The chiefs of the Dakhin, regarding the majesty of his family with respect and reverence, entered into the most amicable relations with him His descendants separated into two families, one the Ahohas, the other the Bhonslas

Memoir of Sahuji, of the tribe of Bhonslas

Sáhújí was first inrolled among the number of Nizám Sháh's retainers, but afterwards entered into the service of Ibráhím 'A'dil Sháh, who was the ruler of the Kokan In return for the faithful discharge of his duties, he received in *jagir* the *parganas* of Púná etc, where he made a permanent settlement after the manner of the *zamindars*. Towards the close of his life, having attained the high honour of serving the Emperor Jahángír, he was constantly in attendance on him, while his son Sivaji stayed

[1] [Properly "*deshasth*" See Grant Duff, vol i p 11]

at the *jágír*. As Ibráhím 'Ádil Sháh for the space of two years was threatened with impending death, great disorder and confusion prevailed in his territories from the long duration of his illness; and the troops and retainers, whom he had stationed here and there, for the purpose of garrisoning the forts, and protecting the frontier of the Kokan, abandoned themselves to neglect in consequence of their master's indisposition.

Memoir of Sáhá, the son of Sáhú

* * Ultimately, the Emperor Aurangzeb, the bulwark of religion, resolved upon proceeding to the Dakhin, and in the year 1093 A.H. bestowed fresh lustre on the city of Aurangábád by the favour of his august presence. For a period of twenty-five years he strove to subvert the Mahratta rule, but as several valiant chieftains displayed the utmost zeal and activity in upholding their dynasty, their extermination could not be satisfactorily accomplished. Towards the close of His Majesty's lifetime, a truce was concluded with the Mahrattas, on these terms, viz. that three per cent. out of the revenues drawn from the Imperial dominions in the Dakhin should be allotted to them by way of *sar deshmukhi*, and accordingly Ahsan Khán, commonly called Mír Malik, set out from the threshold of royalty with the documents confirming this grant to the Mahrattas, in order that, after the treaty had been duly ratified, he might bring the chiefs of that tribe to the court of the monarch of the world. However, before he had had time to deliver these documents into their custody, a royal mandate was issued, directing him to return and bring back the papers in question with him. About this time, His Majesty Aurangzeb 'Álamgír hastened to the eternal gardens of Paradise, at which period his successor Sháh 'Álam (Bahádur Sháh) was gracing the Dakhin with his presence. The latter settled ten per cent. out of the produce belonging to the peasantry as *sar deshmukhi* on the Mahrattas, and furnished them with the necessary documents confirming the grant.[1]

[1] See suprà, Vol. VII. p. 408.

When Sháh 'Álam (Bahádur Sháh) returned from the Dakhin to the metropolis, Dáúd Khán remained behind to officiate for *Amíru-l umará* Zú-l fikár Khán in the government of the provinces He cultivated a good understanding with the Mahrattas, and concluded an amicable treaty on the following footing, viz that in addition to the above-mentioned grant of a tithe as *sar deshmukhi*, a fourth of whatever amount was collected in the country should be their property, while the other three-fourths should be paid into the royal exchequer. This system of division was accordingly put in practice, but no regular deed granting the fourth share, which in the dialect of the Dakhin is called *chauth*, was delivered to the Mahrattas When Muhammad Farrukh Siyar sat as Emperor on the throne of Dehlí, he entertained the worst suspicions against *Amíru-l umará* Saiyid Husain 'Alí Khán, the chief of the Bárha Saiyids He dismissed him to a distance from his presence by appointing him to the control of the province of the Dakhin On reaching his destination, the latter applied himself rigorously to the task of organizing the affairs of that kingdom, but royal letters were incessantly despatched to the address of the chief of the Mahrattas, and more especially to Rája Sáhú, urging him to persist in hostilities with *Amíru-l umará* * *

In the year 1129 A H (1717 A D), by the intervention of Muhammad Anwar Khán Burhánpúrí and Sankarájí Malhár, he concluded a peace with the Mahrattas,[1] on condition that they would refrain from committing depredations and robberies, and would always maintain 18,000 horsemen out of their tribe wholly at the service of the *Názim* of the Dakhin At the time that this treaty was ratified, he sealed and delivered the documents confirming the grant of the fourth of the revenues, and the *sar deshmukhi* of the province of the Dakhin, as well as the proceeds of the Kokan and other territories, which were designated as their ancient dominions At the same period Rája Sáhú appointed Bálájí, son of Basú Náth (Biswa Náth), who belonged

[1] See suprà, Vol VII p 466

to the class of Kokaní Brahmins, to fill the post of his *vakil* at the Court of the Emperor, and in all the districts of the six provinces of the Dakhin he appointed two revenue commissioners of his own, one to collect the *sar deshmukhi*, and the other to receive the fourth share or *chauth* * *

Amíru-l umará Husain 'Alí, having increased the *mansabs* held by Bálájí, the son of Basú Náth, and Sankarájí Malhár, deputed them to superintend the affairs of the Dakhin, and sent them to join 'Álim 'Alí Khán * * After the death of Bálájí, the son of Basú Náth, his son, named Bájí Ráo, became his successor, and Holkar, who was a servant of Bálájí Ráo, having urged the steed of daring, at his master's instigation, at full speed from the Dakhin towards Málwá, put the *(subadár)* Girdhar Bahádur to death on the field of battle. After this occurrence, the government of that province was conferred on Muhammad Khán Bangash, but owing to the turbulence of the Mahrattas, he was unable to restore it to proper order On his removal from office, the administration of that region was entrusted to Rája Jai Singh Sawái. Unity of faith and religion strengthened the bonds of amity between Bájí Ráo and Rája Jai Singh, and this circumstance was a source of additional power and influence to the former, insomuch that during the year 1146 (1733 A D) he had the audacity to advance and make an inroad into the confines of Hindústán The grand *wazír* 'Itimádu-d daula Kamru-d dín Khán was first selected by the Emperor Muhammad Sháh to oppose him, and on the second occasion Muzaffar Khán, the brother of Samsámu-d daula Khán-daurán These two, having entered the province of Málwá, pushed on as far as Sironj, but Bájí Ráo returned to the Dakhin without hazarding an engagement * *

In the second year after the above-mentioned date, Bájí Ráo attempted another invasion of Hindústán, when the *wazír* 'Itimádu-d daula Kamru-d dín Khán Bahádur and the Nawáb Khán-daurán Khán went forth from Dehlí to give him battle. * * On this occasion several engagements took place, but

victory fell to the lot of the *wazír*; and peace having been ultimately concluded, they both returned to Dehlí

In the third year from the aforesaid date, through the mediation of *Amíru-l umará* Khán-Dauràn Khán Bahádur, the government of Málwá was bestowed on Bájí Ráo, whereby his power and influence was increased twofold The Ráo in question, having entered Málwá with a numerous force, soon reduced the province to a satisfactory state of order About the same time he attacked the Rája of Bhadáwar, and after putting him to flight, devastated his territory From thence he despatched Pílájí with the view of subduing the kingdom of Antarbed (Doáb), which is situated between the Ganges and Jumna At that very time Nawáb Burhánu-l Mulk had moved out of his own province, and advanced through Antarbed to the vicinity of Ágra. Pílájí therefore crossed the Jumna, and engaged in active hostilities against the above-named Nawáb, but having been vanquished in battle, he was forced to take to flight, and rejoin Bájí Ráo An immense number of his army were drowned while crossing the Jumna, but as for those who were captured or taken prisoners, the Nawáb presented each one with two rupees and a cloth, and gave him permission to depart Bájí Ráo, becoming downcast and dispirited after meeting with this ignominious defeat, turned his face from that quarter, and proceeded towards Dehlí * *

Samsámu-d daula Amíru-l umará Bahádur, after considerable deliberation, sallied forth from Sháh-Jahánábád with intent to check the enemy, but Bájí Ráo, not deeming it expedient at the time to kindle the flame of war, retired towards Ágra, and Amíru-l umará, considering himself fortunate enough in having effected so much, re-entered the metropolis This was the first occasion on which the Mahrattas extended their aggressions so far as to threaten the environs of the metropolis Though most of the men in the Mahratta army are unendowed with the excellence of noble and illustrious birth, and husbandmen, carpenters, and shopkeepers abound among their soldiery, yet, as they undergo all sorts of toil and fatigue in prosecuting a guerilla warfare, they

prove superior to the easy and effeminate troops of Hind, who for the most part are of more honourable birth and calling If this class were to apply their energies with equal zeal to the profession, and free themselves from the trammels of indolence, their prowess would excel that of their rivals, for the aristocracy ever possess more spirit than the vulgar herd. The free-booters who form the vanguard of the Mahratta forces, and marching in advance of their main body, ravage the enemy's country, are called *pitkarahs* (*púikarahs*?),[1] the troops who are stationed here and there by way of picquets at a distance from the army, for the purpose of keeping a vigilant watch, are styled *mati*, and *chháppah* is synonymous in their dialect with a night-attack Their food consists chiefly of cakes made of *jawar*, or *bajra*, *dal*, *arhad*, with a little butter and red pepper, and hence it is that, owing to the irascibility of their tempers, gentleness is never met with in their dispositions The ordinary dress worn by these people comprises a turban, tunic, *selah* (loose mantle), and *jánghiah* (short drawers) Among their horses are many mares, and among the offensive weapons used by this tribe there are but few fire-arms, most of the men being armed with swords, spears, or arrows instead The system of military service established among them is this each man, according to his grade, receives a fixed salary in cash and clothes every year. They call their stables *pagáh*, and the horsemen who are mounted on chargers belonging to a superior officer are styled *bárgírs* * *

Bálájí's Exploits

When Bájí Ráo, in the year 1153 A H (1740 A.D), on the banks of the river Nerbadda, bore the burden of his existence to the shores of non-entity, his son, Bálájí Ráo, became his successor, and after the manner of his father, engaged vigorously in the prosecution of hostilities, the organization and equipment of a large army, and the preparation of all the munitions of

[1] پوبکاره

war. His son continued to pass his days, sometimes at war, and at other times at peace, with the Nawáb Ásaf Jáh At length, in the year 1163 (1750 A D), Sáhú Ráo, the successor of Sambhájí, passed away, and the supreme authority departed out of the direct line of the Bhonslas Bálájí Ráo selected another individual of that family, in place of Sáhú's son, to occupy the post of Rája, and seated him on the throne, whilst he reserved for himself the entire administration of all the affairs of the kingdom Having then degraded the ancient chieftains from the lofty position they had held, he denuded them of their dignity and influence, and began aggrandizing the Kokaní Brahmins, who were of the same caste as himself. He also constituted his cousin, Sadásheo Ráo, commonly called Bháo Ráo, his chief agent and prime minister. The individual in question was of acute understanding, and thoroughly conversant with the proper method of government. Through the influence of his energetic counsels, many undertakings were constantly brought to a successful issue, the recital of which would lead to too great prolixity In short, besides holding the fortress of Bíjápúr, he took possession anew of Daulatábád, the seat of government of the illustrious sovereigns, together with districts yielding sixty *lacs* of rupees, after forcibly wresting it out of the hands of Nizámu-l Mulk Nizám 'Alí Khán Bahádur He likewise took into his service Ibráhím Khán Gárdí, who had a well-organized train of European artillery with him

The Abdalí Monarch.

Ahmad Sháh Abdálí, in the year 1171 A H (1757-8 A D), came from the country of Kandahár to Hindústán, and on the 7th of Jumáda-l awwal of that year, had an interview with the Emperor 'Álamgír II, at the palace of Sháh-Jahánábád, he exercised all kinds of severity and oppression on the inhabitants of that city, and united the daughter of A'azzu-d dín, own brother to His Majesty, in the bonds of wedlock with his own son, Tímúr Sháh. After an

interval of a month, he set out to coerce Rája Súraj Mal Ját, who, from a distant period, had extended his sway over the province of A'gra, as far as the environs of the city of Dehlí. In three days he captured Balamgarh, situated at a distance of fifteen *kos* from Dehlí, which was furnished with all the requisites for standing a siege, and was well manned by Súraj Mal's followers. After causing a general massacre of the garrison, he hastened towards Mathurá, and having razed that ancient sanctuary of the Hindús to the ground, made all the idolators fall a prey to his relentless sword. Then he returned to A'gra, and deputed his Commander-in-Chief, Jahán Khán, to reduce all the forts belonging to the Ját chieftain. At this time a dreadful pestilence broke out with great virulence in the Sháh's army, so that he was forced to abandon his intention of chastising Súraj Mal, and unwillingly made up his mind to repair to his own kingdom.

On his return, as soon as he reached Dehlí, the Emperor 'A'lamgír went forth with Najíbu-d daula Bahádur, and had an interview with him on the margin of the Maksúdábád lake, when he preferred sore complaints against 'Imádu-l Mulk Ghází-d dín Khán Bahádur, who was at that time at Farrukhábád, engaged in exciting seditious tumults. The Sháh, after forming a matrimonial alliance with the daughter of his late Majesty Muhammad Sháh, and investing Najíbu-d daula with the title of *Amíru-l umara* and the dignified post of *bakhshí*, set out for Láhore. As soon as he had planted his sublime standard on that spot, he conferred both the government of Láhore and Multán on his son, Tímúr Sháh, and leaving Jahán Khán behind with him, proceeded himself to Kandahár.

Jahán Khán despatched a warrant to Adína Beg Khán, who at that time had taken up his residence at Lakhí Jangal, investing him with the supreme control of the territory of the Doáb, along with a *khil'at* of immense value, and adopted the most conciliatory measures towards him, whereupon the latter, esteeming this amicable attention as a mark of good fortune, applied himself zealously to the proper administration of the

Doáb. When Jahán Khán, however, summoned him to his presence, he did not consider it to his advantage to wait upon him, so, quitting the territory of the Doáb, he retired into the hill-country After this occurrence, Jahán Khán appointed a person named Murád Khán to the charge of the Doáb, and sent Sarbuland Khán and Sarfaráz Khán, of the Abdálí tribe, along with him to assist him Adína Beg Khán, having united the Sikh nation to his own forces, advanced to give battle to Murád Khán, when Sarbuland Khán quaffed the cup of martyrdom on the field of action, and Murád Khán and Sarfaráz Khán, seeing no resource left them but flight, returned to Jahán Khán, and the Sikhs ravaged all the districts of the Doáb

As soon as active hostilities were commenced between Najíbu-d daula and 'Imádu-l Mulk, the latter set out from Farrukhábád towards Dehlí, to oppose the former, and forwarded letters to Bálájí Ráo and his cousin Bháo, soliciting aid, and inviting the Mahratta army to espouse his cause Bháo, who was always cherishing plans in his head for the national aggrandizement, counselled Bálájí Ráo to despatch an army for the conquest of the territories of Hindustán, which he affirmed to be then, as it were, an assembly unworthy of reverence, and a rose devoid of thorns

Memoir of Raghunáth Ráo.

In 1171 A H (1757-8 A D) Raghunáth Ráo, a brother of Bálájí Ráo, accompanied by Malhár Ráo Holkar, Shamsher Bahádur, and Jayají Sindhia, started from the Dakhin towards Dehlí at the head of a gallant and irresistible army, to subdue the dominions of Hindústán As soon as they reached Ágra, they turned off to Sháh-Jahánábád in company with 'Imádu-l Mulk, the *wazír*, who was the instigator of the irruption made by this torrent of destruction After a sanguinary engagement, they ejected Najíbu-d daula from the city of Dehlí, and consigned the management of the affairs of government to the care of 'Imádu-l Mulk, the *wazír*.

Raghunáth Ráo and the rest of the Mahratta chiefs set out from Dehlí towards Láhore, at the solicitation of Adína Beg Khán, of whom mention has been briefly made above. After leaving the suburbs of Dehlí, they arrived first at Sirhind, where they fought an action with 'Abdu-s Samad Khán, who had been installed in the government of that place by the Abdálí Sháh, and took him prisoner. Turning away from thence, they pushed on to Láhore, and got ready for a conflict with Jahán Khán, who was stationed there. The latter, however, being alarmed at the paucity of his troops in comparison with the multitude of the enemy, resolved at once to seek safety in flight. Accordingly, in the month of Sha'bán, 1171 A.H. (April, 1758 A.D.), he pursued the road to Kábul with the utmost speed, accompanied by Tímúr Sháh, and made a present to the enemy of the heavy baggage and property that he had accumulated during his administration of that region. The Mahratta chieftains followed in pursuit of Timúr Sháh as far as the river Attock, and then retraced their steps to Láhore. This time the Mahrattas extended their sway up to Multán. As the rainy season had commenced, they delivered over the province of Láhore to Adína Beg Khán, on his promising to pay a tributary offering of seventy-five *lacs* of rupees; and made up their minds to return to the Dakhin, being anxious to behold again their beloved families at home.

On reaching Dehlí in the course of their return, they made straight for their destination, after leaving one of their warlike chieftains, named Jankú, at the head of a formidable army in the vicinity of the metropolis. It chanced that in the year 1172 A.H. (1758-9 A.D.) Adína Beg Khán passed away, whereupon Jankújí entrusted the government of the province of Láhore to a Mahratta, called Sámá, whom he despatched thither. He also appointed Sádik Beg Khán, one of Adína Beg Khán's followers, to the administration of Sirhind, and gave the management of the Doáb to Adína Beg Khán's widow. Sámá, after reaching Láhore, applied himself to the task of government, and pushed on his troops as far as the river

Attock. In the meanwhile, 'Imádu-l Mulk, the *wazír*, caused Sháh 'Álamgír II. to suffer martyrdom, in retaliation for an ancient grudge, and placed the son of Muhi'u-s Sunnat, son of Kám Bakhsh, son of Aurangzeb 'Álamgír, on the throne of Dehlí.

Dattá Sindhia

Dattá Sindhia, Jankújí's uncle, about that time formed the design of invading the kingdom of the Rohillas, whereupon Najíbu-d daula and other Rohilla chiefs, becoming cognizant of this fact, and perceiving the image of ultimate misfortune reflected in the mirror of the very beginning, wrote numerous letters to the Abdálí Sháh, and used every persuasion to induce him to come to Hindústán. The Sháh, who was vexed at heart on account of Tímúr Sháh and Jahán Khán having been compelled to take to flight, and was brooding over plans of revenge, accounted this friendly overture a signal advantage, and set himself at once in motion.

Dattá, in company with his nephew Jankú, after crossing the Jumna, advanced against Najíbu-d daula, and 'Imádu-l Mulk, the *wazír*, hastened to Dattá's support, agreeably to his request. As the number of the Mahratta troops amounted to nearly 80,000 horse, Najíbu-d daula, finding his strength inadequate to risk an open battle, threw up intrenchments at Sakartál, one of the places belonging to Antarbed (the Doáb), situated on the bank of the river Ganges, and there held himself in readiness to oppose the enemy. As the rainy season presented an insurmountable obstacle to Dattá's movements, he was forced to suspend military operations, and in the interim Najíbu-d daula despatched several letters to Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula, begging his assistance.

The Nawáb, urged by the promptings of valour and gallantry, started from Lucknow in the height of the rains, which fell with greater violence than in ordinary years, and having with the utmost spirit and resolution traversed the intervening roads, which were

all in a wretched muddy condition, made Sháhábád the site of his camp. Till the conclusion of the rainy season, however, he was unable to unite with Najíbu-d daula, owing to the overflowing of the river Ganges.

No sooner had the rains come to an end, than one of the Mahratta chieftains, who bore the appellation of Gobind Pandit, forded the stream at Dattá's command, with a party of 20,000 cavalry, and allowed no portion of Chándpúr and many other populous places to escape conflagration and plunder He then betook himself to the spot where Sa'du-llah Khán, Dúndí Khán, and Háfiz Rahmat Khán had assembled, after having risen up in arms and quitted their abodes, to afford succour to Najíbu-d daula Those three, finding themselves unable to cope with him, took refuge in the forests on the Kamáún hills

Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula, being apprised of this circumstance, mounted the fleet steed of resolution, and in Rabí'u-l awwal, 1173 A.H (Oct Nov. 1759 A D), taking his troops resembling the stars in his train, he repaired on the wings of speed to Chándpúr, close to the locality where Najíbu-d daula was stationed As Gobind Pandit had reduced the latter's force as well as his companions to great straits, by cutting off their supply of provisions, Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula Bahádur despatched 10,000 cavalry, consisting of Mughals and others, under the command of Mirzá Najaf Khán Bahádur, Mír Bákar Himmatí and other leaders, to attack the Pandit's camp. He also afterwards sent off Anúpgai Gusáín, and Ráj Indar Gusáín in rear of these The leaders in question having fought with becoming gallantry, and performed the most valiant deeds, succeeded in routing the enemy Out of the whole of Gobind Pandit's force, 200 were left weltering in blood, and as many more were captured alive, whilst a vast number were overwhelmed in the waters of the Ganges Immense booty also fell into the hands of the victors, comprising every description of valuable goods, together with horses and cattle Gobind Pandit, who after suffering this total defeat had escaped from the field of battle across the river Ganges, gave himself up to despair,

and took to a precipitate flight As soon as this intelligence reached the ears of Háfiz Rahmat Khán and the rest of the Rohilla chieftains, they sallied forth from the forests of Kamáún, and repaired to Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula's camp Meanwhile Najíbu-d daula was released from the perils and misfortunes of his position

Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula Bahádur assembled the Rohilla chiefs, and offered them advice in the following strain "The enemy has an innumerable army, his military prowess is formidable, and he has gained possession of most of the districts in your territory, it is therefore better for you to make overtures for peace" Every one, both high and low, applauded the Nawáb's judicious counsel, and voted that pacific negociations should be immediately entered into with Dattá, but the truce had not yet been established on a secure basis, when the news of Ahmad Sháh Abdálí's approach, and of his arrival on this side of Láhore, astonished the ears of all Dattá, with the arrogance that ever filled his head, would not allow the preliminaries of peace to be brought to a conclusion, but haughtily discarding the amicable relations that he was in process of contracting, moved with a resolute step along the road to Dehlí, with a view to encounter the Abdálí Sháh He was accompanied at that time by 80,000 horsemen, well armed and equipped

When the Sháh set out from Láhore in the direction of Dehlí, he thought to himself that on the direct road between these two places, owing to the passage to and fro of the Mahratta troops, it would be difficult to find any thriving villages, and grain and forage would be almost unprocurable Consequently, in the month of Rabí'u-l awwal, 1173 A H, he crossed the river Jumna, and entered Antarbed Be it not unknown, that Antarbed is the name given to the land lying between the Ganges and Jumna, its frontier being Hardwár and the Kamáún hills, which are situated in the northern quarter of Hind * *

In short, Ahmad Sháh Durrání entered Antarbed, and Najíbu-d daula and the other Rohilla chiefs, whose territories were situated

in that kingdom, came to join the Sháh They likewise brought sums of money, as well as grain and provisions, to whatever extent they could procure them, and delivered them over for the Sháh's use Through this cordial support of the Rohilla chiefs, the Sháh acquired redoubled strength, and having directed his corps of Durránís, who were employed in the campaign on skirmishing duties, to pursue the ordinary route, and be in readiness for an engagement with Dattá, proceeded himself to the eastward, by way of Antarbed

On this side too, Dattá, travelling with the speed of wind and lightning, conducted his army to Sirhind, where he happened to fall in with the Sháh's skirmishing parties As the Durránís are decidedly superior to the Mahratta troops in the rapidity of their evolutions, and in their system of predatory warfare, the moment they confronted each other, Dattá's army was unable to hold its ground Being compelled to give way, he retired to Dehlí, keeping up a running fight all the way, and took up a position in the plain of Báwalí, which lies in the vicinity of Shah-Jahánábád At that juncture, Jankújí proposed to his nephew with haughty pride, that they should try and extricate themselves from their critical situation, and Jankují at once did exactly what his respected uncle suggested. In fact, Dattá and his troops dismounted from their horses after the manner of the inhabitants of Hind about to sacrifice their lives, and boldly maintained their footing on the field of battle The Durránís assailed the enemy with arrows, matchlocks, and swords, and so overpowered them as not to allow a single individual to escape in safety from the scene of action. This event took place in Jumáda-l awwal, 1173 A.H (Jan 1760 A D).

Malhar Ráo Holkar

As soon as this intelligence reached the quick ear of Malhár Ráo Holkar, who at that time was staying at Makandara, he consigned the surrounding districts to the flames, and making up

his mind, proceeded in extreme haste to Súraj Mal Ját, and importuned that Rája to join him in the war against the Durrání Sháh The latter, however, strongly objected to comply with his request, stating that he was unable to advance out of his own territory to engage in hostilities with them, as he had not sufficient strength to risk a pitched battle, and that if the enemy were to make an attack upon him, he would seek refuge within his forts In the interview, it came to Holkar's knowledge, that the Afgháns of Antarbed had moved out of their villages with treasure and provisions, with intent to convey them to the Sháh's camp, and had arrived as far as Sikandra, which is one of the dependencies of Antarbed, situated at a distance of twenty *kos* from Dehlí towards the east He consequently pursued them with the utmost celerity, and having fallen upon them, delivered them up to indiscriminate plunder

The Abdálí Sháh, having been apprised of this circumstance, deputed Sháh Kalandar Khán and Sháh Pasand Khán Durrání, at the head of 15,000 horse, to chastise Holkar. The individuals in question, having reached Dehlí from Nárnaul, a distance of seventy *kos*, in twenty-four hours, and having halted during the day to recover from their fatigues, effected a rapid passage across the Jumna, as soon as half the night was over, and by using the utmost expedition, succeeded in reaching Sikandra by sunrise They then encompassed Holkar's army, and made a vast number of his men fall a prey to their relentless swords. Holkar found himself reduced to great straits, he had not even sufficient leisure to fasten a saddle on his horse, but was compelled to mount with merely a saddle-cloth under him, and flee for his life Three hundred more horsemen also followed after him in the same destitute plight, but the remainder of his troops, being completely hemmed in, were either slain or captured, and an immense quantity of property and household goods, as well as numbers of horses, fell into the hands of the Durránís About this time, too, the Sháh arrived at Dehlí from Nárnaul, and took up his quarters in the city.

Forces of the Dakhin.

In the year 1172 A.H. (1758-9 A.D.), Raghunáth Ráo, the brother of Bálájí Ráo, after confiding the provinces of Láhore and Multán to Adína Beg Khán, and leaving Jankújí with a formidable army in the vicinity of the metropolis of Dehlí, arrived at the city of Púná along with Shamsher Bahádur, Malhár Ráo Holkar, and Jayájí Sindhiya Sadásheo Ráo Bháojí, who was Bálájí Ráo's cousin, and his chief agent and prime minister, began instituting inquiries as to the receipts and disbursements made during the invasion of Hind As soon as it became apparent, that after spending the revenue that had been levied from the country, and the proceeds arising from the plundered booty, the pay of the soldiery, amounting to about sixty *lacs* of rupees, was due, the vain illusion was dissipated from Bháojí's brain The latter's dislike to Raghunáth Ráo, moreover, had now broken into open contumely and discord, and Bálájí Ráo, vexed and disgusted at finding his own brother despised and disparaged, sent a letter to Bháojí, declaring that it was essentially requisite for him now to unfurl the standard of invasion in person against Hindústán, and endure the fatigues of the campaign, since he was so admirably fitted for the undertaking Bháo, without positively refusing to consent to his wishes, managed to evade compliance for a whole year, by having recourse to prevarication and subterfuge.

Biswas Rao, the son of Balaji Ráo

Biswás Ráo, Bálájí Ráo's eldest son, who was seventeen years old, solicited the command of the army from his father, and though the latter was in reality displeased with his request, yet in the year 1173 A.H. (1759-60 A.D.) he sent him off with Bháojí in company Malhár Ráo, Pílájí Jádaun, Ján Ráo Dhamadsarí, Shamsher Bahádur, Sabúlí Dádájí Ráo, Jaswant Ráo Bewár, Balwant Ráo, Ganesh Ráo, and other famous and warlike leaders, along with a force of 35,000 cavalry, were also associated with Bháo. Ibráhím Khán Gárdí, who was the superintendent

of the European artillery, likewise accompanied him. Owing to the extreme sultriness of the hot season, they were obliged to rest every other day, and thus by alternate marches and halts, they at length reached Gwálior.

As soon as the story of 'Imádu-l Mulk and Jankújí Sindhia's having sought refuge in the forts belonging to Súraj Mal Ját, and the particulars of Dattá's death and Holkar's defeat, as well as the rout and spoliation of both their forces, were poured into the ears of Biswás Ráo and Bhaojí by the reporters of news and the detailers of intelligence, vast excitement arose, so that a sojourn of two months took place at Gwálior. Malhár Ráo Holkar, who had escaped with his life from the battle with the Durránís, and in the mean time had joined Biswás Ráo's camp, then started from Gwálior for Sháh-Jahánábád by Bháo's order, at the head of a formidable army, and having reached Ágra, took Jankújí Sindhia along with him from thence, and drew near to his destination.

Ahmad Sháh Abdálí, on ascertaining this news, sallied out from the city of Dehlí to encounter him; but the latter, finding himself unable to resist, merely made some dashing excursions to the right and left for a few days, after the guerilla fashion. As the Sháh, however, would never once refrain from pursuing him, he was ultimately forced to make an ignominious retreat back along the road he had come, and having returned to Gwálior, went and rejoined Bháojí. The rainy season was coming on, * * so Ahmad Sháh crossed the river Jumna, and having encamped at Sikandra, gave instructions to the officers of his army, to prepare houses of wood and grass for themselves, in place of tents and pavilions.

Bháo and Biswás Ráo, having marched from Gwálior, after travelling many stages, and traversing long distances, as soon as they reached Akbarábád, Holkar and Jankújí, at Bháo's instigation, betook themselves to Rája Súraj Mal Ját, and brought him along with them to have an interview with Bháo. The latter went out a *kos* from camp to meet him, and 'Imádu-l

Mulk, the *wazir*, also held a conference with Bháo through Súraj Mal's mediation Súraj Mal proposed that the campaign should be conducted on the following plan, viz that they should deposit their extra baggage and heavy guns, together with their female relatives, in the fort of Jhánsí, by the side of the river Chambal, and then proceed to wage a predatory and desultory style of warfare against the enemy, as is the usual practice of the Mahratta troops, for under these circumstances their own territory would be behind their backs, and a constant supply of provisions would not fail to reach their camp in safety Bháo and the other leaders, after hearing Súraj Mal's observations, approved of his decision, but Biswás Ráo, who was an inexperienced youth, intoxicated with the wine of arrogance, would not follow his advice Bháo accordingly carried on operations in conformity with Biswás Ráo's directions, and set out from Akbarábád towards Dehlí with the force that he had at his disposal On Tuesday, the 9th of Zí-l hijja, 1173 A H (23 Sept 1760 A D), about the time of rising of the world-illumining sun, he enjoyed the felicity of beholding the fort of Dehlí The command of the garrison there was at that time entrusted to Ya'kúb 'Alí Khán Bahmanzái, brother to Sháh Walí Khán, the prime minister of the Durrání Sháh, who, in spite of the multitude of his enemies, would not succumb, and spared no exertions to protect the fort with the few martial spirits that he had with him

Capture of the fort of Dehli

Bháo, conjecturing that the fort of Dehlí would be devoid of the protection of any garrison, and would therefore, immediately on being besieged, fall under his subjection, went and took up a position near Sa'du-llah Khán's mansion, with a multitude of troops. * * Ibráhím Khán Gárdí, who was a confederate of Bháo, and had the superintendence of the European artillery, planted his thundering cannon, with their skilful gunners,

opposite the fort on the side of the sandy plain, and having made the battlements of the Octagon Tower and the Asad Burj a mark for his lightning-darting guns, overturned many of the royal edifices. Every day the tumultuous noise of attack on all sides of the fort filled the minds of the garrison with alarm and apprehension The overflowing of the Jumna presented an insurmountable obstacle to the crossing of the Durrání Sháh's army, and hindered it from affording any succour to the besieged. The provisions in the fort were very nearly expended, and Ya'kúb 'Alí Khán was forced to enter into negociations for peace. He first removed, with his female relatives and property, from the fort to the domicile of 'Alí Mardán Khán, and then, having crossed the river Jumna from thence on board a boat, betook himself to the Sháh's camp On the 19th of the aforesaid month and year, Bháo entered the fort along with Biswás Ráo, and took possession of all the property and goods that he could find in the old repositories of the royal family. He also broke in pieces the silver ceiling of the *Diwan-i Khass*, from which he extracted so much of the precious metal as to be able to coin seventeen *lacs* of rupees out of it Nárad Shankar Brahmin was then appointed by Bháo to the post of governor of the fort

The Durrání Sháh, after his engagement with Dattá, which terminated in the destruction of the latter, had despatched Najibu-d daula to the province of Oudh with a conciliatory epistle, which was as it were a treaty of friendship, for the purpose of fetching Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula Bahádur Najíbu-d daula accordingly betook himself by way of Etáwa to Kanauj, and about the same time Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula marched from Lucknow, and made the ferry of Mahdipur, which is one of the places in Etáwa situated on this side the river Ganges, the site of his camp An interview took place in that locality, and as soon as the friendly document had been perused, and the Nawáb's heart had been comforted by its sincere promises, he came to the fixed determination of waiting on the Sháh, and he sent back Rája Bení Bahádur, who at that time possessed greater power and

influence than his other followers, to rule as viceroy over the kingdom during his absence. When Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula approached the Sháh's army, the prime minister, Sháh Walí Khán, hastened out to meet him, and, having brought him along with him in the most courteous and respectful manner, afforded him the gratification, on the 4th of Zí-l hijja, 1173 A.H. (18th July, 1760 A.D.), of paying his respects to the Sháh, and of folding the son of the latter, Tímúr Sháh, in his embrace.

Bháo remained some time in the fort of Sháh-Jahánábád, in consequence of the rainy season, which prevented the horses from stirring a foot, and deprived the cavalry of the power of fighting; he sent a person named Bhawání Shankar Pandit to Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula, with the following message: "If it is inconvenient for you to contract an alliance with your friends, you should at least keep aloof from the enemy, and remain perfectly neutral to both parties." The above-named Pandit, having crossed the river Jumna, went to Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula Bahádur, and delivered this message. The latter, after ascertaining its drift, despatched his eunuch Yákút Khán, who was one of the oldest and most confidential servants of his government, in company with Bhawání Shankar Pandit, and returned an answer of this description: "As the Rájas of this empire and the Rohilla chiefs were reduced to the last extremity by the violent aggressions of Raghunáth Ráo, Dattá, Holkar, and their subordinates, they solicited the Abdálí Sháh to come to Hindústán, with the view of saving themselves from ruin. 'The seed that they sowed has now begun to bear fruit.' Nevertheless, if peace be agreeable to you, from true regard for our ancient friendship, my best endeavours shall be used towards concluding one." Eventually, Bháo proposed that as far as Sirhind should be under the Sháh's dominion, and all on this side of it should belong to him; but the whole rainy season was spent in negociation, and no peace was established.

In the interim, Rája Súraj Mal Ját, who discerned the speedy downfall of the Mahratta power, having moved with his troops,

in company with 'Imádu-l Mulk, the *wazír*, from his position at Sarai Badarpúr, which is situated at a distance of six *kos* from Dehlí on the eastern side, and traversed fifty *kos* in one night, without informing Bháo betook himself to Balamgarh,[1] which is one of his forts.

As the Mahratta troops made repeated complaints to Bháo regarding the scarcity of grain and forage, the latter, on the 29th of the month of Safar, 1174 A H (9th October, 1760 A D), removed Sháh Jahán, son of Muhí'u-s Sunnat, son of Kám Bakhsh, son of Aurangzeb 'Álamgír, and having seated the illustrious Prince, Mirzá Jawán Bakht, the grandson of 'Álamgír II, on the throne of Dehlí, publicly conferred the dignity of *wazír* on Shujá'u-d daula His object was this, that the Durrání Sháh might become averse to and suspicious of the Nawáb in question. Leaving Nárad Shankar Brahmin, of whom mention has been made above, behind in the fort of Sháh-Jahánábád, he himself set out, with all his partisans and retainers, in the direction of Kunjpúra.[2] This place is fifty-four *kos* to the west of Dehlí, and seven to the north of the *pargana* of Karnál, and it is a district the original cultivators of which were the Rohillas

Capture of the fort of Kunjpúra

Bháo, on the 10th of Rabí'u-l awwal, 1174 A H (19th October, 1760), encompassed the fort of Kunjpura with his troops, and subdued it in the twinkling of an eye by the fire of his thundering cannon Several chiefs were in the fort, one of whom was 'Abdu-s Samad Khán Abdálí, governor of Sirhind, who had been taken prisoner by Raghunáth Ráo in 1170 A H (1756-7), but had ultimately obtained his release, as was related in the narrative of Adína Beg Khán's proceedings There were, besides, Kutb Khán Rohilla, Dalíl Khán, and Nijábat Khán, all *zamindars* of places

[1] [" To Dig "—*Nigár-náma-i Hind*]

[2] [" A stout and substantial stronghold containing a garrison of nearly 30,000 men "—*Nigár-náma-i Hind*]

in Antarbed, who had been guilty of conveying supplies to the Abdálí Sháh's camp. After reducing the fort, Bháo made 'Abdu-s Samad Khán and Kutb Khán undergo capital punishment, and kept the rest in confinement, whilst he allowed Kunjpúra itself to be sacked by his predatory hordes.

As soon as this intelligence reached the Sháh's ear, the sea of his wrath was deeply agitated, and notwithstanding that the stream of the Jumna had not yet subsided sufficiently to admit of its being forded, a royal edict was promulgated, directing his troops to pay no regard to the current, but cross at once from one bank to the other As there was no help but to comply with this mandate, on the 16th of the month of Rabí'u-l awwal, 1174 A H (25th October, 1760 A.D), near Sháh-Jahánábád, on the road to Pákpat, which is situated fifteen *kos* to the north of Dehlí, they resigned themselves to fate, and succeeded in crossing A number were swallowed up by the waves, and a small portion of the baggage and quadrupeds belonging to the army was lost in the passage As soon as the intelligence reached Bháo's ear, that a party of Durránís had crossed, * * he sounded the drum of retreat from Kunjpúra, and with his force of 40,000 well-mounted and veteran cavalry, and a powerful train of European artillery, under the superintendence of Ibráhím Khán Gárdí, he repaired expeditiously to Pánípat, which lies forty *kos* from Dehlí towards the west

Battle between the Mahratta Army and the Durránís

The Abdálí Sháh, after crossing the river Jumna at the *ghat* of Pákpat, proceeded in a westerly direction, and commanded that Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula Bahádur and Najíbu-d daula should pitch their tents on the left of the royal army, and Dúndí Khán, Háfizu-l Mulk Háfiz Rahmat Khán, and Ahmad Khán Bangash on the right. As Bháo perceived that it was difficult to contend against the Durránís in the open field, by the advice of his counsellors he made a permanent encampment of his troops in the outskirts of the city of Pánípat, and having in-

trenched it all round with his artillery, took up his quarters in this formidable position. * *

In the interim Gobind Pandit, who was the *tahsildár* of the district of Shukohábád, etc., betook himself to Dehlí at Bháo's suggestion, with a body of 10,000 cavalry, and intercepted the transport of supplies to the Durrání Sháh's army [1] * *

When the basis of the enemy's power had been overthrown (at Pánípat), and the surface of the plain had been relieved of the insolent foe, the triumphant champions of the victorious army proceeded eagerly to pillage the Mahratta camp, and succeeded in gaining possession of an unlimited quantity of silver and jewels, 500 enormous elephants, 50,000 horses, 1000 camels, and two *lacs* of bullocks, with a vast amount of goods and chattels, and a countless assortment of camp equipage Nearly 30,000 labourers too, who drew their origin from the Dakhin, fell into captivity. Towards evening the Abdálí Sháh went out to look at the bodies of the slain, and found great heaps of corpses, and running streams produced by the flood of gore * * Thirty-two mounds of slain were counted, and the ditch, protected by artillery, of such immense length that it could contain several *lacs* of human beings, besides cattle and baggage, was completely filled with dead bodies.

Assassination of Sindhia Jankújí

Ráo Káshí Náth, on seeing Jankújí, who was a youth of twenty, with a handsome countenance, and at that time had his wounded hand hanging in a sling from his neck, became deeply grieved, and the tears started from his eyes * * Jankújí raised his head and exclaimed "It is better to die with one's friends than to live among one's enemies"

The Nawáb, in unison with Sháh Walí Khán, solicited the Sháh to spare Jankújí's life, whereupon, the Sháh summoned Barkhúrdár Khán, and consulted him on the propriety of the

[1] [For accounts of the skirmishes and battle, see *suprà*, p 144 This work is more diffuse, and enters into greater details, but the two accounts agree in the main]

step, to which the Khán in question returned a decided negative. At the same time, one of the Durránís, at Barkhúrdár Khán's suggestion, went and cut Jankújí's throat, and buried him under ground inside the very tent in which he was imprisoned.

Ibráhím Khán Gárdí's Death

Shujá'u Kulí Khán, a powerful and influential servant of the Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula Bahádur, having captured Ibráhím Khán Gárdí on the field of battle, kept him with the said Nawáb's cognizance in his own tent No sooner did this intelligence become public, than the Durránís began in a body to raise a violent tumult, and clamorously congregating round the door of the Sháh's tent, declared that Ibráhím Gárdí's neck was answerable for the loss of so many thousands of their fellow-countrymen, and that whoever sought to protect him would incur the penalty of their resentment. Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula, feeling that one seeking refuge cannot be slain, prepared for a contest with the Durrání forces, whereupon there ensued a frightful disturbance At length, Sháh Walí Khán took Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula aside privately, and addressing him in a friendly and affectionate tone, proposed, that he should deliver up Ibráhím Khán Gárdí to him, for the sake of appeasing the wrath of the Durránís, and after a week, when their evil passions had been allayed, he would restore to him the individual entrusted to his care In short, Ashrafu-l Wuzrá (Sháh Walí Khán), having obtained him from the Nawáb, applied a poisonous plaister to his wounds, so that, by the expiration of a week, his career was brought to a close

Discovery of Bháojí's Corpse

The termination of Bháojí's career has been differently related Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula, having mounted after the victory, took Shishá Dhar Pandit, Ganesh Pandit, and other associates of Bháojí along with him, and began wandering over the field of battle, searching for the corpses of the Mahratta chiefs, and more

especially for Bháojí's dead body. They accordingly recognized the persons of Jaswant Ráo Balwár, Pílájí, and Sabhájí Náth who had received forty sword-cuts, lying on the scene of action; and, in like manner, those of other famous characters also came in view Bháo's corpse had not been found, when from beneath a dead body three valuable gems unexpectedly shone forth. The Nawáb presented those pearls to the Pandits mentioned above, and directed them to try and recognize that lifeless form They succeeded in doing so through the scar of a gunshot wound in the foot, and another on the side behind the back, which Bháo had received in former days With their eyes bathed in tears they exclaimed "This is Bháo, the ruler of the Dakhin"[1] Some entertain an opinion, that Bháo, after Biswás Ráo's death, performed prodigies of valour, and then disappeared from sight, and no one ever saw him afterwards Two individuals consequently, both natives of the Dakhin, have publicly assumed the name of Bháo, and dragged a number of people into their deceitful snare As a falsehood cannot bear the light, one was eventually put to death somewhere in the Dakhin by order of the chiefs in that quarter, and the other, having excited an insurrection at Benares, was confined for some time in the fort of Chunár After his release, despairing of the success of his project, he died in the suburbs of Gorakhpúr in the year 1193 A H

Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula Bahádur, having obtained permission of the Sháh to burn the bodies [*of the Bhao and other chiefs*], deputed Rája Himmat Bahádur and Ráo Káshí Náth, his principal attendants, to perform the task of cremation Out of all those hapless and unfortunate beings [*who survived the battle*], a number maintained a precarious existence against the violent assaults of death for some days, but notwithstanding that they used the most strenuous exertions to effect their escape in divers directions from Pánípat, not a single one was saved from being slain and plundered by the *zamíndars* of that quarter Out of the whole of the celebrated chiefs too, with the exception of

[1] [The *Nigar-náma-i Hind* gives further identifications of the corpse see *infra*]

Malhár Ráo Holkar, 'Appáji Gaikawár and Bithal Sudeo, not another was ever able to reach the Dakhin.

Account of Bháoji's Wife

Bháo's wife, in company with Shamsher Bahádur, half-brother[1] to Báláji Ráo, and a party of confidential attendants, traversed a long distance with the utmost celerity, and betook herself to the fortress of Díg. There that broken-hearted lady remained for two or three days mourning the loss of her husband, and having then made up her mind to prepare for an expedition to the Dakhin, Rája Súraj Mal Ját gave her one morning a suitable escort to attend her, and bade her adieu She accordingly reached the Dakhin, but Shamsher Bahádur, who was severely wounded, died after arriving at Díg

Death of Báláji.

Shortly before the occurrence of these disasters, Báláji Ráo had marched from Púná He had only proceeded as far as Bhílsa, when, having been informed of the event, he grew tired of existence, and shed tears of blood lamenting the loss of a son and a brother. He then moved from where he was to Sironj, and about that very time a messenger reached him from the Abdálí Sháh, with a mourning *khil'at* The Ráo, feigning obedience to his commands, humbly dressed his person in the Sháh's *khil'at,* and turning away from Sironj, re-entered Púná. From excess of grief and woe, however, he remained for two months afflicted with a harrowing disease, and as he perceived the image of death reflected from the mirror of his condition, he sent for his brother, Raghunáth Ráo, to whom he gave in charge his best beloved son, the younger brother of the lately slain Biswás Ráo, who bore the name of Mádhú Ráo, and had just entered his twelfth year, exclaiming "Fulfil all the duties of

[1] [He was the illegitimate son of Báji Ráo by a Muhammadan woman, and he was brought up as a Muhammadan]

goodwill towards this fatherless child, treating him as if he were your own son, and do not permit any harm to come upon him." Having said this, he departed from the world on the 9th of Zí-l ka'da, 1174 A.H. (14th June, 1761 A.D.), and the period of his reign was twenty-one years.

Mádhú Rao, son of Báláji.

Mádhú Ráo, after the demise of his father, was installed in the throne of sovereignty at Púná, and Raghunáth Ráo conducted the administration of affairs as prime minister, after the manner of the late Bháo.

Account of the pretender Bháo.

One of the remarkable incidents that occurred in Mádhú Ráo's reign was the appearance of a counterfeit Bháo, who, in the year 1175 A.H. (1762-3 A.D.), having induced a number of refractory characters to flock to his standard, and having collected together a small amount of baggage and effects, with camp equipage and cattle, excited an insurrection near the fort of Karáza, which is situated at a distance of twelve *kos* from Jhánsí towards the west. He gave intimation to the governor of the fort, who held his appointment of the Púná chiefs, as to his name and pretensions, and summoned him by threats and promises into his presence. The latter, who, up to that time, had been in doubt whether Bháo was dead or alive, being apprehensive lest this individual should in reality prove to be Bháo, proceeded to wait upon him, and presented some cash and valuables by way of offering. After that, the Bháo in question sent letters into other *parganas*, and having summoned the revenue officers from all quarters, commenced seizing and appropriating all the cash, property and goods. Whatever horses, elephants, or camels he found with any one, he immediately sent for, and kept in his own possession.

This pretender to the name of Bháo always kept his face

half covered under a veil, both in public and private, on the plea that the wound on his visage was still unhealed, and people were completely deceived by the stratagem, no one could have the impudence to scrutinize his features. In short, for six months he persevered in his imposture, until the news reached Púná, when some spies went over to him to examine strictly into the case, and discovered that he was not Bháo

About the same period, Malhár Ráo Holkar was moving from the Dakhin towards Hindústán, and his road happened to lie through the spot where the pretender in question had pitched his tents The above-mentioned spies disclosed the particulars of the case to Malhár Ráo, who thought to himself, that until Párbatí Bái, the late Bháo's wife, had seen this individual with her own eyes, and all her doubts had been removed, it would not do to inflict capital punishment on the impostor, for fear the lady should think in her heart that he had killed her husband out of spite and malice. For this reason, Malhár Ráo merely took the impostor prisoner, and having appointed thirty or forty horsemen to take care of him, forwarded him from thence to Púná The few weak-minded beings, who had gathered round him, were allowed to depart to their several homes, and Holkar proceeded to his destination When the pretender was brought to Púná, Mádhú Ráo likewise, out of regard for the feelings of the late Bháo's wife, deemed it proper to defer his execution, and kept him confined in one of the forts within his own dominions Strange to say, the silly people in that fort did not discover the falseness of the impostor's claims, and leagued themselves with him, so that a fresh riot was very nearly being set on foot Mádhú Ráo, however, having been apprised of the circumstances, despatched him from that fort to another stronghold, and in the same way his removal and transfer was constantly taking place from various forts in succession, till he was finally confined in a stronghold, that lies contiguous to the sea on the island of Kolába, which is a dependency of the Kokan territory

Nawáb Nizám 'Alí Khán Bahádur.

The following is another of the events of Mádhú Ráo's reign Bithal, *diwan* of Nawáb Nizám 'Alí Khán Bahádur, advised his master, that as the Mahrattas were then devoid of influence, and the supreme authority was vested in an inexperienced child, it would be advisable to ravage Púná Jánújí Bhonsla Rája of Nagpúr, Gopál Ráo a servant of the Peshwa, and some more chiefs of the Mahratta nation, approved of the *diwan's* suggestion, and led their forces in a compact mass towards Púná When they drew near its frontier, Raghunáth Ráo, who was Mádhú Ráo's chief agent and prime minister, got terrified at the enemy's numbers, and finding himself incompetent to cope with them, retired with his master from Púná Nawáb Nizám 'Alí Khán Bahádur then entered the city, and did not spare any efforts in completing its destruction

After some time, Raghunáth Ráo recovered himself, and having entered into friendly communication with Jánújí Bhonsla and the other chiefs of his own tribe, by opening an epistolary correspondence with them, he alienated the minds of these men from the Nawáb. In short, the above-named chiefs separated from the Nawáb on the pretence of its being the rainy season, and returned to their own territories. In the interim, Raghunáth Ráo and Mádhú Ráo set out to engage Nawáb Nizám 'Alí Khán Bahádur, who, deeming it expedient to proceed to his original quarters, beat a retreat from the position he was occupying When the bank of the river Godáverí became the site of his encampment, an order was issued for the troops to cross over Half the *matériel* of the army was still on this side, and half on that, when Raghunáth, considering it a favourable opportunity, commenced a furious onslaught The six remaining chiefs of the Nawáb's army were slain, and about 7000 Afgháns, etc, acquired eternal renown by gallantly sacrificing their lives After this sanguinary conflict, the Nawáb hastily crossed the river, and extricated himself from his perilous position As soon as the flame of strife had been

extinguished, a peace was established through the intervention of Malhár Ráo Holkar, who had escaped with his life in safety from the battle with Abdálí Sháh Both parties concurring in the advantages of an amicable understanding, returned to their respective quarters

Quarrel between Raghunath Ráo and Mádhú Rao

When Raghunáth Ráo began to usurp greater authority over the administration of affairs; Gopiká Bái, Mádhú Ráo's mother, growing envious of his influence, inspired her son with evil suspicions against him, and planned several stratagems, whereby their mutual friendship might result in hatred and animosity, till at length Raghunáth Ráo became convinced that he would some day be imprisoned Consequently, he mounted his horse one night, and fled precipitately from Puná with only a few adherents Stopping at Násik, which lies at a distance of eight stages from Púná, he fixed upon that town as his place of refuge and abode, and employed himself in collecting troops, insomuch that Náradjí Sankar, the revenue collector of Jhánsí, Jaswant Ráo Lúd, Sakhá Rám Bápú and Nílkanth Mahádeo, volunteered to join him, and eagerly engaged in active hostilities against Mádhú Ráo As soon as Raghunáth Ráo arrived in this condition close to Púná, Mádhú Ráo was also obliged to sally forth from it in company with Trimbak Ráo, Bápújí Mánik, Gopál Ráo and Bhímjí Lamdí. When the line of battle began to be formed, Raghunáth Ráo assumed the initiative in attacking his adversaries, and succeeded in routing Mádhú Ráo's force by a series of overwhelming assaults, and even captured the Ráo himself, together with Nar Singh Ráo After gaining this agreeable victory, as he perceived Mádhú Ráo to be in safety, and his malicious antagonists overthrown, he could not contain himself for joy As soon as he returned from the battle-field to his encampment, he seated Mádhú Ráo on a throne, and remained himself standing in front of him, after the manner of slaves By fawning and coaxing,

he then removed every trace of annoyance from Mádhú Ráo's mind, and requested him to return to Púná After dismissing him to that city, he himself went with his retinue and soldiery to Násik.

Haidar Naik

After the lapse of some years of Mádhú Ráo's reign, a vast disturbance arose in the Dakhin Haidar Náik having assembled some bold and ferocious troops, * * with intent to subdue the territory of the Mahrattas, set out in the direction of Púná Mádhú Ráo came out from Púná, and summoned Raghunáth Ráo to his assistance from Násik, whereupon the latter joined him with a body of 20,000 of his cavalry. In short, they marched with their combined forces against the enemy; and on several occasions encounters took place, in which the lives of vast multitudes were destroyed Although Haidar Náik's army proved themselves superior in the field, yet peace was ultimately concluded on the cession and surrender of some few tracts in the royal dominions, after which Haidar Náik refrained from hostilities, and returned to his own territory, whilst Mádhú Ráo retired to Púná, and Raghunáth Ráo to Násik.

Raghunath Rao's movements

When a short time had elapsed after this, the idea of organizing the affairs of Hindústán entered into Raghunáth Ráo's mind For the sake of preserving outward propriety, therefore, he first gave intimation to Mádhú Ráo of his intention, and asked his sanction The Ráo in question, who did not feel himself secure from Raghunáth Ráo, and considered any increase to his power a source of greater weakness to himself, addressed him a reply couched in these terms "It were better for you to remain where you are, in the enjoyment of repose" * * Raghunáth Ráo would not listen to these words, but marched out of Násik in company with Maháji Sindhia, taking three powerful armies along with him.

As soon as he reached Gwálior, he commenced hostilities against Ráná Chattar Singh, who possessed all the country round Gohad, and laid siege to the town itself. Godh is the name of a city, founded by the aforesaid Ráná. It is fortified with earthen towers and battlements, and is situated eighteen *kos* from Gwálior. Mádhú Ráo, during the continuance of the siege, kept constantly sending messages to Ráná Chattar Singh, telling him to persist in his opposition to Raghunáth with a stout heart, as the army of the Dakhin should not be despatched to his kingdom to reinforce the latter In a word, for the period of a year they used the most arduous endeavours to capture Gohad, but failed in attaining their object. During this campaign, the sum of thirty-two *lacs* of rupees, taken from the pay of the troops and the purses of the wealthy bankers, was incurred by Raghunáth Ráo as a debt to be duly repaid He then returned to the Dakhin distressed and overwhelmed with shame, and entered the city of Násik, whither Mádhú Ráo also repaired about the same time, to see and inquire after his fortunes In the course of the interview, he expressed the deepest regret for the toils and disappointment that the Ráo had endured, and ultimately returned in haste to Púná, after thus sprinkling salt on the galling wound Shortly after this, Kankumá Tántiá and his other friends persuaded Raghunáth Ráo to adopt a Brahmin's son * * Accordingly the Ráo attended to the advice of his foolish counsellors, and selected an individual for adoption. He constituted Amrat Ráo his heir.

Raghunáth Rao's imprisonment at Púná

Mádhú Ráo no sooner became cognizant of this fact, than he felt certain that Raghunáth Ráo was meditating mischief and rebellion, and seeking to usurp a share in the sovereignty of the realm. He consequently set out for Násik with a force of 25,000 horsemen, whilst, on the other hand, Raghunáth Ráo also organized his troops, and got ready for warfare. Just about that

period, however, Kankumá Tántiá and Takújí Holkar,[1] who were two of the most powerful and influential men in Raghunáth's army, declared to him that it was necessary for them to respect their former obligations to Mádhú Ráo, and therefore improper to draw the sword upon him After a long altercation, they left the Ráo where he was, and departed from Násik Raghunáth, from the paucity of his troops, not deeming it advantageous to fight, preferred enduring disgrace, and fled with 2000 adherents to the fort of Dhúdhat[2]

Mádhú Ráo then entered Násik, and commenced sequestrating his property and imprisoning his partisans, after which he pitched his camp at the foot of the above-named fort, and placed Raghunáth in a most precarious position For two or three days the incessant discharge of artillery and musketry caused the flames of war to blaze high, but pacific negociations were subsequently opened, and a firm treaty of friendship entered into, whereupon the said Ráo came down from the fort, and had an interview with Mádhú Ráo The latter then placed his head upon the other's feet, and asked pardon for his offences Next day, having mounted Raghunáth Ráo on his own private elephant, he himself occupied the seat usually assigned to the attendants, and continued for several days travelling in this fashion the distance to Púná As soon as they entered Púná, Mádhú Ráo, imitating the behaviour of an inferior to a superior, exceeded all bounds in his kind and consoling attentions towards Raghunáth Ráo After that he selected a small quantity of goods and a moderate equipment of horses and elephants, out of his own establishment, and having deposited them all together in one of the most lofty and spacious apartments, solicited Raghunáth Ráo in a respectful manner to take up his abode there The latter then became aware of his being a prisoner with the semblance of freedom, and reluctantly complied with Mádhú Ráo's requisition

[1] [These names are very doubtful in the MS The latter one is no doubt intended for Túkají]

[2] [" Dhoorup, a fort in the Chandor range "—Grant Duff, vol ii p 199]

Rája of Nágpúr.

As soon as Mádhú Ráo had delivered his mind from all apprehension regarding Raghunáth Ráo, he led his army in the direction of Nágpúr, in order to avenge himself on Janújí Bhonsla, the Rája of that place, who had been an ally and auxiliary of Raghunáth Ráo, in one of his engagements The Rája in question, not finding himself capable of resisting him, fled from his original residence, so that for a period of three months Mádhú Ráo was actively engaged in pursuing his adversary, and that unfortunate outcast from his native land was constantly fleeing before him Ultimately, having presented an offering of fifteen *lacs* of rupees, he drew back his foot from the path of flight, and set out in safety and security for his own home

Mádhú Ráo's Death.

After chastising the Rája of Nágpúr, Mádhú Ráo entered Púná with immense pomp and splendour, and amused himself with gay and festive entertainments. But he was attacked with a fatal disease, and * * his life was in danger On one occasion he laid his head on Raghunáth Ráo's feet, and * * asked forgiveness for the faults of bygone days Raghunáth Ráo grieved deeply on account of his youth * * He applied himself zealously to the cure of the invalid, and whenever he found a trace, in any quarter or direction, of austere Brahmins and skilful Pandits, he sent for them to administer medicines for his recovery At length, when the sick man began to despair of living, he imitated the example of his deceased father, and placed his younger brother, whose name was Naráin Ráo, under the charge of Raghunáth Ráo, and having performed the duty of recommending him to his care, yielded up his soul in the year 1186 A H. (1772 A D). The duration of his reign was twelve years.

Naráin Ráo, son of Bálájí Rao

Naráin Ráo, after being seated on the throne of sovereignty, owing to his tender age, committed various acts that produced an ill-feeling among his adherents, both great and small, at Púná, more especially in Raghunáth Ráo, on whom he inflicted unbecoming indignities Although Mádhú Ráo had not behaved towards his uncle with the respect due to such a relative, yet, beyond this much, that he would not grant him permission to move away from Púná, he had treated him with no other incivility; but used always, till the day of his death, to show him the attention due from an inferior to a superior, and supplied him with wealth and property far exceeding the limits of his wants In short, Raghunáth Ráo, having begun to form plans for taking Naráin Ráo prisoner, first disclosed his secret to Sakhá Rám Bápú, who was Mádhú Ráo's prime minister, and having seduced that artless courtier from his allegiance, made him an accomplice in his treacherous designs Secondly, having induced Kharak Singh and Shamsher Singh, the chiefs of the body of Gárdís, to join his conspiracy, he raised the standard of insurrection. Accordingly, those two faithless wretches one day, under the pretence of demanding pay for the troops, made an assault on the door of Naráin Ráo's apartment, and reduced him to great distress That helpless being, who had not the slightest cognizance of the deceitful stratagems of the conspirators, despatched a few simple-minded adherents to oppose the insurgents, and then stealthily repaired to Raghunáth Ráo's house. Kharak Singh and Shamsher Singh, being apprised of the circumstance, hurried after him, and, unsheathing their swords, rushed into Raghunáth Ráo's domicile Raghunáth Ráo first fell wounded in the affray, and subsequently Naráin Ráo was slain This event took place in the year 1187 A H, so that the period of Naráin Ráo's reign was one year.

Reign of Raghunáth Ráo

Kharak Singh and Shamsher Singh, through whose brains the fumes of arrogance had spread, in consequence of their control over the whole train of European artillery, with wilful and headstrong insolence seated Raghunáth Ráo on the throne of sovereignty, without the concurrence of the other chiefs, and the said Ráo continued to live for two months at Púná after the manner of rightful rulers After Naráin Ráo had been put to death, a certain degree of shame and remorse came over the Púná chiefs, and the dread of their own overthrow entered their minds Sakhá Rám Bápú consequently, in unison with Trimbak Ráo, commonly called Mátamádharí Balhah,[1] and others, deemed it advisable to persuade Raghunáth Ráo that he should go forth from Púná, and employ himself in settling the kingdom The said Ráo accordingly acted upon their suggestion, and marched out of Púná, attended by the Mahratta chiefs As soon as he had got to the distance of two or three stages from the city, the wily chiefs, by alleging some excuse, obtained leave from Raghunáth Ráo to return, and repaired from the camp to the city They then summoned to them in private all the commanders of the army, both great and small, when they came to the unanimous decision, that it was incompatible with justice to acquiesce in Raghunáth Ráo's being invested with the supreme authority, and that it would be better, as Naráin Ráo's wife was six months advanced in pregnancy, providing she gave birth to a male child, to invest that infant with the sovereignty, and conduct the affairs of government agreeably to the details of prudence. As soon as they had unanimously settled the question after this fashion, a few of the chiefs took up a position in the outskirts of the city of Púná, by way of protection, and formed a sturdy barrier against the Magog of turbulence. Raghunáth Ráo, having become aware of the designs of the conspirators, remained with a slender party

[1] [Grant Duff calls him "Trimbuck Rao Mama" The word transcribed from the MS as "Balhah" is very doubtful]

in his encampment. Having brooded over his troubles, he saw no remedy left but that of forsaking the country, and was consequently forced to retire towards the Carnatic His object was to collect a sufficient force round him, with which he might return to Púná and resume hostilities However, owing to the vulgar report that attributed Naráin Ráo's murder to him, every blade of grass that sprung from the ground was ready to plunge a dagger into his blood For this reason, he found it impossible either to stay or reside in the Carnatic, so he hastened away to Surat

Death of the pretender Bhao

The direst confusion had found its way into the kingdom, in consequence of the report of Naráin Ráo's death At that critical juncture the pretender Bháo, who was confined in a stronghold in the Kokan territory, lying adjacent to the salt ocean, seized the opportunity of escaping by fraud and stratagem out of his prison, and having induced a party of men to place themselves under his orders, took possession of some of the forts and districts of that country. He was just on the point of waging open war, had not Maháji Sindhia Bahádur set out in the interim from Púná to the Kokan territory for the purpose of coercing him On reaching his destination, he engaged in hostilities with the aforesaid Bháo, whereupon the latter's associates took to flight, and departed each by his own road. As Bháo was thus left alone, he went on board a ship in utter consternation with a view to save his life from that vortex of perdition, but death granted him no respite, and he fell alive into the hands of the heroes who accompanied Maháji Sindhia Bahádur The latter brought him along with him to Púná, and removed the dust of uncertainty from the mirror of every mind Ultimately he caused the ill-fated wretch to be bound to a camel's foot, and paraded round the whole town, after which he put him to death

Sawái Mádhú Ráo, son of Naráin Ráo, surnamed the Peshwá Sahib

The Peshwá Sáhib, the rightful heir of Naráin Ráo, at the time of his father's murder, was dwelling in his mother's womb * * When she had completed the time of her pregnancy, a child, in the year 1188 A H (1774 A D), shed a grace over the bosom of its nurse, and bestowed comfort on the illustrious chiefs. * * He was invested with the appellation of Sawái Mádhú Ráo

Advance of the English Commanders upon Púná

Raghunáth Ráo, having reached Surat, turned towards the leaders of the English army, who dwelt on the borders of the sea, and offered to take upon himself the responsibility of showing the way over the various routes into the Dakhin, and to subjugate that kingdom so teeming with difficulties As the commanders of the English army were possessed of adequate means for making an invasion, and had their heads inflamed with the intoxication of boldness and intrepidity, they took Raghunáth Ráo along with them, and moving away from Surat with their valiant troops experienced in war, and their lion-hearted forces active as tigers, they set out to conquer and annex the Dakhin territories

Having traversed the intervening stages at a resolute pace, they arrived at Núrghát, which is situated at a distance of twenty *kos* from Púná The Mahratta chieftains also sallied forth from Púná with a vast body of retainers, and opposed their advance with the utmost perseverance at Núrghát, whereupon a tremendous contest and a frightful slaughter ensued, until the combatants on both sides had neither the power nor the inclination left to assail each other any more At length, by the intervention of the obscurity of night, the tumult of war subsided, and the world-consuming fire of guns and matchlocks, whose flames arose to the highest heavens, hid its face in the ashes of night, so that the soldiery on either side were obliged

to retire to their respective quarters During that night, the prudent belligerents made up their minds to a peace, and in the morning, the chiefs of the rival forces obtained an interview and enjoyed a conference. The English leaders, after negociating a truce and consolidating the basis of friendship, delivered up Raghunáth Ráo, who had been the instigator of this conflict and the originator of this hostile movement, to the Mahratta chiefs, on condition of their granting him a *jagír*, and treating him with kindness and consideration They then turned away from that quarter with all their troops and followers, and repaired to their usual place of abode

The Mahratta chiefs had formed the fixed determination in their minds of taking vengeance on the ill-fated Raghunáth Ráo; but Maháji Sindhia Bahádur, prompted by his manly and generous feelings, diverted them from their headlong and cruel purposes, so that the matter was managed mercifully and kindly, and the Ráo in question, having been presented with a *jágír*, received permission to remain at large The unfortunate wretch, however, departed from the pleasant vale of existence to the desert of non-entity, without reaching his destination, for the career of the wicked never ends well.

Maháji Sindhia Bahádur

When the fourth year from the birth of Sawái Mádhú Ráo, surnamed the Peshwá Sáhib, had elapsed, and security and repose had settled on the minds of high and low throughout the territories of the Dakhin, Maháji Sindhia Bahádur, who was distinguished among all the Púná chiefs for his gallantry and daring, sagacity and intelligence, having satisfied his mind as to the settlement of that kingdom, set out to conquer Gohad. He succeeded in taking prisoner Rání Chattar Singh, who was in the citadel, after a siege attended with hard fighting, and took possession of the surrounding districts, along with the fortress of Gwálior, which is a mountain stronghold

About the same time, a mutual feeling of envy and hatred

had become firmly implanted in the minds of Mirzá Muhammad Shafí' Khán and Muhammad Beg Khán Hamadání,—who had been the chief officers of State to the late Amíru-l umará Mirzá Najaf Khán Bahádur, and after his death had been partners in the government of the province of A'gra,—owing to their each craving after an increase of power and dignity, which is ever a hindrance to the existence of friendship and good feeling among equals and contemporaries At last, Muhammad Beg Khán Hamadání seized the opportunity, during an interview, of putting Muhammad Shafí' Khán to death, and on this account, Afrásiyáb Khán, who was the Imperial *Mír-i átish*, and one of Amíru-l umará Mirzá Najaf Khán Bahádur's *protegés*, becoming alarmed, demanded succour of Maháji Sindhia Bahádur The latter had firmly resolved in his mind on repairing to the sublime threshold, but had not yet fulfilled the duty of paying his respects, when, under the influence of Sindhia Bahádur's destiny, Afrásiyáb Khán was killed by the hand of an assassin

Sindhia Bahádur's army having overshadowed the metropolis by its arrival, he brought Muhammad Beg Khán Hamadání, after a siege, completely under his subjection, and in the year 1199 A H. traversed the streets of the metropolis When he obtained the good fortune of saluting the threshold * * of His Majesty, the shadow of God, the Emperor Sháh 'A'lam, * * he was loaded with princely favours, and distinguished by royal marks of regard, so that he became the chief of the supporters of government, and His Majesty's most staunch and influential adherent * *

As Mádhú Ráo, the Peshwá Sáhib, at the present auspicious period, pursues, in contradistinction to his uncle, the path of obedience to the monarch of Islám, and Maháji Sindhia Bahádur is one of those who are constantly attached to the ever-triumphant train, hence it happens that the plant of this nation's prosperity has struck root firmly into the earth of good fortune, and their affairs flourish agreeably to their wishes

CXXII.

LUBBU-S SIYAR

OF

ABU' TA'LIB LONDONI'

This is a very useful little manual of general history, compiled in 1208 A H (1793-4 A D), by Mírzá Abú Muhammad Tabrízí Isfahání, and being carried down to modern times, embraces an account of Europe and America

The author is usually known in India as Abú Tálib Londoní, from his voyage to and adventures in England and Europe, an amusing account of which was written by him on his return in 1803, and is well known to the European world by the translation of Major Stewart

In the Preface to this work he tells us that he had collected several works of history and travel, and had often perused them, but found amongst them none that contained a history of the whole world, he therefore thought that he would himself supply this deficiency, but had no leisure to effect his object till the year above mentioned, when he finished his Abstract He declares his intention, if he lives long enough, of enlarging his work, and hopes that some one else, if he fails to do it, will undertake this useful labour, "because he has mentioned all the occurrences of the world, old and new, and given a connected account of the Prophets, Khalífs, Sultáns, and celebrated men, from the beginning to the present time"

He quotes the various authorities he used, and besides others of common note, he mentions a history of the Kings of India compiled by himself, and a compendious account of the kingdoms of Europe and America, translated by some English gentleman from his own tongue, "which in truth contains very many new matters" This is no doubt the work of Jonathan Scott He says that his own history is an abstract of some thousands of

books, and therefore he has entitled it *Lubbu-s Siyar wa Jahán-numá*, "The Essence of Biographies, and the World-Reflecting Mirror"

The author was the son of Hájí Muhammad Khán, a Turk of Ázarbáiján, who was born and bred in Isfahán, and was the first of the family who came to Hindústán, where he was inrolled amongst the followers of Nawáb Safdar Jang, the *wazír*. The father is called by another name in the Preface of this work, and in the *Miftáhu-t Tawáríkh* he is styled Muhammad Beg Khán

Mírzá Abú Tálib was born at Lucknow, and was employed in posts of high emolument under Nawábs Shujá'u-d daula and Ásafu-d daula. In the time of the latter he lost his office, and came to seek his subsistence from the English. By them he was hospitably entertained, and induced to visit Europe in 1799. He died and was buried at Lucknow in the year 1220 A H (1805 A D), as we learn from two chronograms composed by Mr Beale at the request of Mírzá Yúsuf Bákir, the deceased's son, which are given at p 564 of the *Miftáhu-t Tawáríkh*.

Besides the *Lubbu-s Siyar*, he wrote several other treatises, a Biography of the Poets, ancient and modern, and "himself indulged in versification, especially on the subject of the females of England, who aspire to equality with the Angels of Paradise, and he was always expatiating on the heart-ravishing strains of the women of that country, who used to sing at the public assemblies"[1]

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[1] *Zubdatu-l Gharaib*, 5th volume, v Tálib

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This work is common in India The best copy I have seen is in the possession of Raziu-d dín *Sadr-s Sudúr* of Aligarh

SIZE—Folio, 131 pages, each comprising 23 lines, closely written.

CXXIII.

AUSÁF-I ÁSAF

AN historical sketch of the royal family of Oudh, written A D 1795. It is a useful work, containing also an account of contemporary princes

SIZE—Large 8vo., 114 pages

CXXIV

TÁRÍKH

OF

JÚGAL KISHWAR.

THIS is a general history of India, by Júgal Kishwar, from the time of Humáyún to Sháh 'Álam. It is of no value, at least in the passages which I have examined [Sir H M Elliot's library does not contain a copy of this work]

CXXV.

GULISTÁN-I RAHMAT

OF

NAWÁB MUSTAJÁB KHÁN

THIS is a history of the Rohilla Afgháns, and a life of Háfiz Rahmat Khán, written by his son Nawáb Mustajáb Khán Bahádur The work has been abridged and translated by Mr. Charles Elliott. I have seen several histories of the Rohillas, but know none superior to this except the *Gul-i Rahmat* noticed in the next article.

The translator observes in his Introduction, "In the original many trivial occurrences are noticed which I have altogether omitted, and the repeated encomiums lavished by the Nawáb upon the generosity and intrepidity of his lamented parent, though honourable to his feelings as a son, would be deemed extravagant by the majority of readers, and indeed would scarcely admit of translation A residence of many years in Rohilkhand, where the memory of Háfiz Rahmat Khán is held in the highest veneration, may perhaps have led me to attach a greater degree of importance to the work than it merits, but as Háfiz acted a distinguished part on the theatre of India for thirty years, and was personally engaged in every great action fought during that time, his life may furnish some materials to aid in the compilation of a history of that period, and with this view, I have taken considerable pains to correct some chronological errors in the original"

"It is necessary to add that Mr Hamilton's History of the Rohillas will in some parts be found at variance with this narrative that gentleman appears to have derived his information from the friends of the Nawáb of Oudh, who would not be disposed to speak favourably of Háfiz Rahmat Khán, and as that work was published about the time of Mr Hastings' trial, it might have been intended to frame an excuse for his permitting a British army to join on the attack in 1774 A.H."

CXXVI

GUL-I RAHMAT

OF

SA'ÁDAT YÁR KHÁN

The *Gul-i Rahmat* was written by Nawáb Sa'ádat Yár Khán, grandson of Háfiz Rahmat, and nephew of Mustajáb Khán It is more copious than the *Gulistán-i Rahmat*, though it professes to follow that work as its guide It is divided into four parts I On the Genealogy of Háfiz Rahmat —II On 'Alí Muhammad Khán, and the arrival of Háfiz Rahmat in India —III Háfiz Rahmat Khán's administration of Katehr, and of the events which occurred there till the time of his death —IV. Administration of Katehr under Shujá'u-d daula Descendants of Háfiz Rahmat This work was lithographed at Ágra in 1836, in 221 small 8vo pages of 17 lines each

[The following Extracts have been selected and translated by the Editor They will show how far this work differs from the *Gulistán-i Rahmat*, as translated by Mr Elliott]

EXTRACTS

[When Zábita Khán received intelligence of the passage (of the Ganges) by the Mahrattas, and of the deaths of Sa'ádat Khán, Sádik Khán, and Karam Khán, the officers whom he had stationed to guard the ford, he was overpowered with astonishment, and fled in great bewilderment from Sakartál He crossed the Ganges with a small escort, and proceeded to the camp of Faizu-llah Khán, carrying with him the intelligence of the Mahratta attack upon Najíbábád Faizu-llah Khán said "I came here for the purpose of giving you advice, but as you will not listen to my words, I shall now go back to my own country" On hearing this declaration, Zábita Khán was still more downcast, and returned to his own forces When he

reached the Ganges, the good fortune of the Emperor plunged him into a sea of hesitation, and notwithstanding the number of his forces, and his powerful armament, he made no attempt to cross the river, but returned to Faizu-llah Khán.

When he arrived, he found Faizu-llah Khán seated on an elephant, about to depart He mounted the same elephant, and proceeded with Faizu-llah to Rámpúr. On the news of his flight to Katehr reaching Sakartál, his soldiers were dispirited They plundered each other, and then scattered in all directions On receiving intelligence of these movements, the Mahrattas quickly advanced to Sakartál, and fell to plundering. * * The garrison of the fort of Najibábád, who had held out in the hope of relief, were dismayed when they heard of the flight of Zábita Khán, and surrendered the fort to the royal forces On taking possession of the fort, the people and family of Zábita Khán, including his son Ghulám Kádir, were placed in confinement All the *matériel*, the treasure and the artillery collected by Najibu-d daula, fell into their hands

On the news of the advance of the Mahrattas towards Rámpúr reaching the chiefs of Katehr, all the inhabitants of Anwala and Bisaulí assembled. Fearing to be attacked by the Mahrattas, they fled in dismay to Bareilly Some of them went to Pílíbhít, intending to proceed to the hills Háfiz Rahmat Khán[1] was returning from Farrukhábád to Tilhar when he heard of the defeat of Zábita Khán He hastened to Bareilly, where he cheered and encouraged the chiefs and officers who were there assembled, and tried to dissuade them from removing to the hills He said that the Mahrattas had no intention of attacking Katehr, and that if they really did advance, negociations might be opened with them and with the Emperor If terms were agreed upon, all would be well, if not, they would fight His auditors replied that there was no fortress of strength in Bareilly or Pílíbhít it was therefore desirable to crrry off their families and property to the hills, for after these were placed in security, they themselves would be

[1] [He is generally entitled "Háfizu-l Mulk" in this work]

ready either for business or for war Háfiz Rahmat reluctantly consented to their wishes After Shaikh Kabír had entered Bareilly, Háfiz Rahmat took his departure, and leaving 'Ináyat Khán in Pílíbhít, he proceeded to Nának-math, in the skirt of the hills. From thence he went with his followers and chiefs and soldiers to Gangápúr, five *kos* distant in the hills, and surrounded with dense jungle, which secures it from the attacks of horsemen There he remained There also arrived Zábita Khán, in company with Faizu-llah Khán, who made their way through the jungle. Zábita Khán remained at Gangápúr four days He then found that Shujá'u-d daula was encamped at Sháhábád, having advanced to the borders of his territories on hearing of the Mahratta attack upon Katehr

Zábita Khán went off in great distress from Gangápúr to see Shujá'u-d daula, and to solicit his assistance in obtaining the release of his family After talking over the matter, Shujá'u-d daula postponed any action until after the arrival of Háfiz Rahmat Zábita Khán wrote repeatedly to Hafiz Rahmat, begging him to come quickly * * The chiefs of Katehr suffered much from the inclemency of the climate of Gangápúr, and yielding to their solicitations, Háfiz Rahmat proceeded quickly to Sháhábád, at the beginning of the year 1186 A H (1772 A D), with three or four thousand men, horse and foot When he approached, Shujá'u-d daula and the General Sáhib went forth to meet him and pay him due respect

After they had sat down together, they talked about the release of Zábita Khán's family, and of the settlement of his affairs with the Mahrattas After much debate, Shujá'u-d daula and the General Sahib sent their *wakils* with some officers of Háfiz Rahmat to the Mahratta *sardárs* A great deal was said at the interview, but at length the Mahrattas sent a message to the effect that they had expended fifty *lacs* of rupees, and that they would not give up the family of Zábita Khán until this sum of money was paid, nor would they loosen their hold upon his territory or the country of Katehr. The *wakils* had several

meetings, and the Mahrattas at length agreed to take forty *lacs*, but they demanded as security for payment a deed under the seal of Shujá'u-d daula. The Nawáb said that he had entered upon the matter entirely out of regard to Háfiz Rahmat, and that if Háfiz would give a bond for the payment of the money, he would send his own bond to the Mahratta *sardars*. All the chiefs of Katehr who were present at the Council besought Háfiz Rahmat that he would without hesitation give his bond to Shujá'u-d daula, to secure peace for Zábita Khán, and said that they would all assist in the payment of the money So Háfiz Rahmat, to befriend Zábita Khán, and to gratify the chiefs of Katehr, gave his bond for forty *lacs* of rupees to Shujá'u-d daula The latter then executed his bond, and sent it to the Mahrattas In this he undertook to pay them forty *lacs* of rupees, when they had retired over the Jumna and entered Sháh-Jahánábád, and when they had sent back the family of Zábita Khán, and had withdrawn their hands from the country of Katehr

On receipt of this document, the Mahrattas sent the family of Zábita Khán to Shujá'u-d daula and Háfiz Rahmat, they then crossed the Ganges and proceeded towards Sháh-Jahánábád * * When Háfiz Rahmat heard that Zábita Khán's family had reached Bareilly, he took leave of Shujá'u-d daula and General Parker, and went to Pilíbhít * * After some days, Háfiz Rahmat called upon the chiefs of Katehr for the money he had become responsible for at their solicitation, and for which he had given his bond to Shujá'u-d daula. They all began to lament their destitute condition, and made all sorts of excuses and evasions Unable to do what he wished, Háfiz Rahmat did what he could, and sent the sum of five *lacs* out of his own treasury to Shujá'u-d daula * *

The *wakíls* of Mahájí Sindhia and Takú Holkar, chiefs of the Mahrattas, waited upon Háfiz Rahmat, and informed him that their chiefs were about to attack the territories of Shujá'u-d daula, and that if he would join them, he should receive half of whatever territory should be conquered. If he declined to join

them, they would respect his country, and return to him Shujá'u-d daula's bond for the forty *lacs* of rupees, no part of which had been paid, and give up all claim on that account, provided he would allow them a passage, and would make no opposition to their crossing the Ganges In reply to these proposals, Háfiz Rahmat requested time for consideration. Keeping the Mahratta *wakils* with him, he sent to inform Shujá'u-d daula of what the Mahrattas proposed, adding that they undertook to forego all claim upon himself for the forty *lacs* of rupees on condition of his remaining neutral. He added, "If you will send me back my sealed bond, and will hasten to oppose the Mahrattas, I will dismiss the Mahratta *wakils*, and will guard the fords of the Ganges United, we will beat the Mahrattas, and drive them from this country" Upon receipt of this letter, Shujá'u-d daula immediately wrote a reply *(expressing his gratification)*, adding that he sent Saiyid Sháh Madan as his representative, and that he would not deviate a hair's breadth from any agreement the Saiyid should make * * After his arrival, the Saiyid promised Háfiz Rahmat that the bond should be returned to him after the repulse of the Mahrattas, when he and Shujá'u-d daula would soon meet The Nawáb entreated Háfiz Rahmat to banish all suspicion, for there was no cause of dissension between them * *

Háfiz Rahmat sent back the *wakils* with a proper answer to Shujá'u-d daula On the same day he sent Ahmad Khán, son of the *Bakhshi*, in all haste from Ánwala to secure the ford of Rám-ghát A few days afterwards, hearing of the approach of the Mahrattas, he marched from Bareilly by way of Ánwala to Bisaulí From that place he sent back the *wakils* of the Mahrattas, rejecting their proposals He then proceeded with his small force to Rám-ghát When the Mahratta *wakils* returned, they informed their chiefs of the little support given to Háfiz Rahmat, and of the smallness of his force Háfiz Rahmat advanced to the distance of three *kos* from Asadpúr, where Ahmad Khán was encamped, and in consequence of the celerity

of his march his whole force had not come up: he had with him only four or five thousand men, horse and foot. The Mahrattas had received information through their spies of the limited number of his men, and resolved to attack him. They crossed the river during the night, and pressed onwards, but during the darkness they lost their way, and came upon Ahmad Khán's force, which they attacked. The pickets which Ahmad Khán had thrown out were watchful, and upon their reports the men were posted in the buildings and gardens of Asadpúr. The fight raged hotly all day from morn till eve, and notwithstanding the immense numbers of the Mahrattas, they were unable to prevail over the small body of Afghāns. After many men had been slain on both sides, Ahmad Khán, considering the immense force arrayed against him, sent a message to Takú Holkar and Sindhia, proposing an interview. They were only too glad to accede. Ahmad Khán went with a few followers to meet them. The Mahratta *sardárs* kept him with them, and pitched their camp there.

The intelligence reached Háfiz Rahmat, while he was encamped near Asadpúr, that 60,000 Mahrattas had crossed the river, and had attacked Ahmad Khán. He instantly drew out his forces, and was about to march for the relief of Ahmad Khán, but just then the news came that the Khán had gone to see the Mahratta chiefs. Háfiz Rahmat's chiefs and officers now urged upon him that it was inexpedient with his small force to wage war against the Mahratta hosts. * * Muhibbu-llah Khán joined him with two or three thousand men, and Mustakín Khán also arrived with four or five thousand more, some others also came in, so that he now mustered ten or twelve thousand men. In the morning Háfiz Rahmat gave orders for the mustering of his forces to attack the Mahrattas, and all were in readiness, awaiting further orders, when messengers arrived from Shujá'u-d daula, announcing that his army was close at hand. As soon as he heard this, Háfiz Rahmat marched to attack the Mahrattas. At the same time the advanced forces of Shujá'u-d daula, General Chámkín

(Champion) and Mahbúb 'Alí Khán eunuch, came up at the critical moment, and opened fire with their guns upon the Mahrattas.

The forces of the Mahrattas were in two divisions. Maháji Sindhia opposed Shujá'u-d daula, and Takú Holkar attacked Háfiz Rahmat Both bodies of Mahrattas fought well and bravely, but the heavy fire of the English artillery and the flashing swords of the Afgháns made them recede, and they took to flight. Mahájí Sindhia passed over the Ganges by a bridge of boats, and halted on the other side Taku Holkar was too hard pressed by the Afgháns to be able to cross, so he fled on the same side of the river towards Sambhal General Chámkín (Champion) and Mahbúb 'Alí Khán crossed the river in their boats and attacked Sindhia, when he precipitately abandoned his baggage and camp, and took to flight, never stopping till he had covered five *kos* The General seized upon his camp, took everything he found, and pitched his own camp upon the spot.

Háfiz Rahmat pursued Holkar for some distance, but the Mahrattas were mounted on swift horses, and traversed a long distance in the night Háfiz Rahmat stopped near the battle-field to rest his men, Holkar went nearly to Sambhal, and he sent forward his advanced forces to plunder that place, and Murádábád and Rámpúr * * Háfiz Rahmat followed with all his force, and when Holkar heard of his near approach, he gave up his design upon Rámpúr, and fled in great disorder from Sambhal towards the ford of Phaphú He reached the Ganges, and having crossed it with great exertion by swimming, he united his force with that of Sindhia When Háfiz Rahmat heard of his having crossed and effected a junction with Sindhia, he proceeded towards Phaphu, and encamped upon the bank of the river Afterwards he marched to join Shujá'u-d daula, who was encamped twelve *kos* off in face of Sindhia, to consult with him about the release of Ahmad Khán After much parley Sindhia agreed to release his prisoner for a ransom of two *lacs* of rupees; and on payment of the money, Ahmad Khán obtained his liberty.

Sindhia then marched off towards Dehlí; Háfiz Rahmat and Shujá'u-d daula, by way of precaution, remained some days at the same place, and the two had frequent interviews

Háfiz Rahmat sent Muhammad Khán and 'Abdu-llah Khán * * to require from Shujá'u-d daula the return of the bond for forty *lacs*, in accordance with the verbal promise made by Sháh Madan, his *wakíl* Shujá'u-d daula denied that he had ever made any promise to return it, and that Sháh Madan could never have made such an offer Háfiz Rahmat's friends urged that Shujá'u-d daula had written a letter promising to faithfully adhere to the verbal arrangements made by Sháh Madan They then required that Sháh Madan should be brought forward, that he might be questioned upon the point Shujá'u-d daula sent for him, and after trying to bias him, asked what it was that he had said to Háfiz Rahmat about the bond Sháh Madan was one of the honourable Saiyids of Sháhábád, and deeming a lie to be derogatory to his honour, he spoke the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, saying, "In accordance with the directions of His Highness, I made a promise for the restoration of the bond" Shujá'u-d daula got into a rage, and said it was all a lie and a conspiracy, for he had never uttered a word of such a promise Sháh Madan three or four times affirmed the truth of his statement, and then held his peace Khán Muhammad, seeing no hope of obtaining the bond, uttered some sharp words, at which Shujá'u-d daula also waxed warm, and went into his private apartments in a rage * * Háfiz Rahmat did not deem it advisable to press further for the restoration of the bond at that time, and, concealing his annoyance, he said no more about it Shujá'u-d daula was very much vexed with Háfiz Rahmat. He remained several days at the same place, and busied himself in winning over Háfiz Rahmat's officers and soldiers. * *

At the end of the year 1187 A H (1773 A D.), Shujá'u-d daula busied himself in winning over to his side, by various inducements, the people of Katehr, both small and great. * * Having gained several chiefs and officers of that country, he felt

full confidence, and marched to effect first the conquest of Etáwa. The Mahratta detachments, which had been left there when their armies returned to the Dakhin, were too small in numbers to offer any resistance, and retreated before him He soon made himself master of Etáwa, and prepared to settle its administration. But Háfiz Rahmat wrote to him, protesting against this, and saying that the country of Etáwa had been conferred upon him, after the battle of Pánípat, by Ahmad Sháh Durrání, as the Nawáb knew full well. That after the end of the war, he had obtained possession of a large portion of the country, and although circumstances had made it necessary for him to allow the land to pass into the hands of the Mahrattas, he was about to take measures for recovering it * * Shujá'u-d daula wrote in answer that he had not taken the country from Háfiz Rahmat, but from the Mahrattas, so there was no cause of complaint * * Háfiz Rahmat repeatedly urged the restoration of Etawa, but Shujá'u-d daula, having secured the support of the chiefs of Katehr, was desirous of bringing the question to the test of war So he wrote to Háfiz Rahmat, demanding speedy payment of the thirty-five *lacs* of rupees, which were due out of the forty thousand for which he (Shujá'u-d daula) had given his bond to the Mahrattas After this had been settled, the question of Etáwa might be gone into After this, Shujá'u-d daula called together his forces, and prepared to march into Katehr

Háfiz Rahmat, seeing that Shujá'u-d daula was intent upon war, wrote in reply, "The money which the Mahrattas received from you has already been repaid, to demand more from me than the Mahrattas have either received or asked, and to make it the excuse for strife and warfare, is unworthy of your high position If, in spite of everything, you are resolved upon war, I am ready for you" On receipt of this letter, the Nawáb drew together his forces, and prepared to pass the Ganges by way of Konyá-ganj Háfiz Rahmat also ordered his camp to be pitched outside of the town on the Ánwala side

General Champion, who was with Shujá'u-d daula, wrote to

Háfiz Rahmat, promising that, if he would pay the money, or would promise to pay it in two or three months, he (the General) would, by his own influence, effect a peace, and cause Shujá'u-d daula to return to his own country Pahár Singh, *díwán* of Katehr, [*urged Háfiz Rahmat to assent to the General's advice*] But death had deprived him of all his friends and supporters, such as * *, and especially of 'Ináyat Khán, his son; he had therefore withdrawn his heart from the world, and was desirous of martyrdom He said that he had not got the money, or he would send it, and that to ask others for it, to seize it by force, or to be under any obligation to Shujá'u-d daula for it, he considered so disgraceful, that he would leave the matter to the arbitrament of God, and would welcome martyrdom. * * He sent an answer to the General to the above effect. Then he issued a general order in these words, "Let those who think fit accompany me, and let those who are unwilling depart Each man may do as he likes. I have many enemies and few friends, but this I heed not."

On the 11th Muharram, 1188 A H (24th March, 1774 A D), Háfiz Rahmat marched out of Bareilly with a moderate force, and went towards Ánwala * * The alarm of war having spread, numbers of Afgháns from Mau and Farrukhábád, and the inhabitants of Katehr, both subjects and strangers, obeying the instinct of clanship, gathered round Háfiz Rahmat. *Zamindárs* of the *Rájpút* tribe, who had lived in peace under his rule, came in troops to support him without summons, so that his army increased in numbers every day * * Háfiz Rahmat marched from Tánda, and crossing the Rám-gangá at the ford of Kiyára, he entered Farídpúr, seven *kos* to the east of Bareilly Shujá'u-d daula advanced by successive marches to Sháh-Jahánpúr * * From thence he went on to Tilhar, where he rested and prepared for action Háfiz Rahmat then marched from Farídpúr, and crossing the river Bhagal, encamped in the groves around Karra. There was then a distance of not more than seven or eight *kos* between the two armies. * *

Two or three days after, Shujá'u-d daula, acting on the advice of General Champion, who was the most accomplished General of the time, made a march towards Pílíbhít, and halted at the village of Músalí, where there was a wide open plain Reports of an intended attack on Pílíbhít spread through both armies Háfiz Rahmat thereupon left Karia, for the purpose of protecting Pílíbhít, and encamped in face of the enemy in the open plain. * * General Champion cheered the drooping heart of Shujá'u-d daula, and taking the command of the advanced force, he selected the positions for the guns, and made the necessary arrangements for the battle * *

On the 11th Safar Shujá'u-d daula advanced with an army numbering 115,000 horse and foot * * Háfiz Rahmat went to the tent of Faizu-llah Khán, and said, "My end is near at hand So long as I remain alive, do not turn away from the field, but when I fall, beware, do not press the battle, but leave the field directly, and flee with my children and dependents to the hills This is the best course for you to take, and if you act upon my advice, it will be the better for you" After giving these directions, he mounted his horse, and marched against the enemy with ten thousand horse and foot He had proceeded only a short distance, when the advanced force of the enemy came in sight, and fire was opened from cannons and muskets * * Ahmad Khán, son of the *Bakhshi*, who had made a secret agreement with Shujá'u-d daula, now fell back, and set the example of flight, which many others followed * * Háfiz Rahmat had only about fifty supporters left when he drew near to the Telingas and English He was recognized by his umbrella, of which spies had given a description, and a cannon was levelled against him He advanced in front of all his companions, using his utmost efforts The cannon-balls fell all around, and * * at length one struck him on the breast. He was lifted off his horse, and after taking a sip or two of water, he drank the cup of martyrdom

CXXVII.

SAHI'HU-L AKHBA'R

OF

SARU'P CHAND.

THIS is a general history of India, compiled in 1209 A H (1794-5 A D), by Sarúp Chand Khatrí Although written by a Hindú, the work opens as if composed by a devout Musulmán, with praise to God, the Prophet Muhammad, and all his family and companions The author gives the following explanation of his reasons for undertaking the task, from which it will be seen how history was made subservient to the controversies which raged among our officials at that time

"It is owing to the curiosity and perseverance of the English that the tree of knowledge is planted anew in this country, and it is also to the inquisitive spirit of that people, and particularly to the zeal and liberality of Sir John Shore, Governor-General of India, that I, an old servant of the State, am favoured with the honour of compiling a work on the History of the Hindús, together with an explanation of the names of days, months, years and eras, the reigns of the Kings of Dehlí, with an explanation of the words *rája, zamindar, chaudhari, ta'allukdár, hawáldar*, and the mode of administration, both ancient and modern, together with the names of the *súbadars* of Bengal and the revenue and political affairs of the province."

His definition of these revenue terms is fair and impartial, as will be seen from the extract given below. The author enters upon the question of the frauds practised upon our Government after the first acquisition of Bengal, and if his authority could have had any weight amongst Indian statesmen of his time, we should have been spared the introduction of the Permanent

Settlement into Bengal, the most precipitate and suicidal measure recorded in the annals of legislation.

The author quotes several authorities for his historical narrative, and amongst them some which are not procurable in these days, as the history of Mahmúd Sabuktigín, by 'Unsurí, the histories of Sultán Bahlol and Sher Sháh, both by Husain Khán Afghán; *Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi*, by Mauláná 'Izzu-d dín Kháfid-khání, *Tárikh-i Fry*, by Khwája Nizámu-d dín Ahmad, *Tárikh-i Akbar Shahi*, by Mírzá 'Atá Beg Kazwíní, *Tuhfat-i Akbar Sháhi*, by Shaikh 'Abbás bin Shaikh 'Alí Shirwání, the history of Sadr-i Jahán Gujaráti; the history of Hájí Muhammad Kandahárí, and the history of Munawwar Khán I think it not improbable that the author never saw one of these works here quoted, and that he mentions most of them at second hand, on the authority of the *Khulasatu-t Tawarikh*, which, as usual in such cases, is itself not mentioned The *Sahihu-l Akhbár* carries the history down to the author's own period, but I have kept no record of its divisions, contenting myself with taking a few extracts while the manuscript was in my possession

The only copy I have seen of this work was in the possession of Mr Conolly, a clerk in the Office of the Board of Revenue at Agra, and since his death, notwithstanding all my inquiries, I have not been able to procure it again.

EXTRACT

Persons appointed by a Rája as *tahsildárs*, or revenue collectors of two or three *parganas*, were called *chaudharis* The superior class of *byoparis*, or tradesmen, were called *mahajans*, or *banjarás*, and among the *sarráfs*, or bankers, those who were wealthier than the generality of their profession were entitled *sáhs*, and those who were wealthiest were called *seths* The heads of all classes of trades and professions were termed *chaudharis*.

From the time of the establishment of the Emperors' power in India, those persons who paid revenue to the Government were called *zamindárs*. According to some writers, those who were held responsible to Government for the revenue of several villages

or a *pargana* were called *zimmadárs*, which word afterwards was corrupted into *zamindar*. However, in the time of the Emperor Akbar, all old *málguzárs* were put down in the Government records as *zamindárs* or *ta'allukdárs*

The office of *chaudhari* was at the disposal of the governors, and any person on whom it was conferred by them was designated a *chaudhari* No person had a hereditary right to this office

The term *ta'allukdar* is peculiar to Bengal, and is not known elsewhere In the time of the Emperors, any person who had been from of old a proprietor of several *parganas* was designated a *zamindár*, and the proprietors of one or two villages were written down in the records as *ta'allukdars*. When a *pargana* first began to be brought under cultivation and inhabited, those, who by their own labour cut down the forest in a tract of land, and populated it, were distinguished by the title of *ta'allukdár jangal buri*, and formerly, amongst the higher class of *raiyats*, those who paid to the Government a revenue of 500 rupees, or beyond it up to 1000 rupees, or those who, like *patwáris*, collected the revenue of one or two villages, or two or four small circuits, were considered by the Government as holding the office of a revenue collector, and were termed *ta'allukdars* During the reigns of the former Emperors nothing like a durable settlement of land revenue was made for a period of 370 years, because in those days their rule was not firmly established in the country

In the time of Akbar, all the districts, large and small, were easily occupied and measured The land was methodically divided, and the revenue of each portion paid. Each division, whether large or small, was called a *ta'alluka*, and its proprietor a *ta'allukdar*. If in one *pargana* the names of several persons were entered in the Government record as *ta'allukdárs*, they were called *taksimi ta'allukdárs*, or *mazkúri ta'allukdars* From the time of Farrukh Siyar, affairs were mismanaged in all the provinces, and no control was maintained over the Government officials, or the *zamindars* All classes of Government officers were addicted to extortion and corruption, and the whole former system of regularity and order was subverted.

CXXVIII

TÁRÍKH-I MUZAFFARÍ

OF

MUHAMMAD 'ALÍ KHÁN

THIS is one of the most accurate General Histories of India which I know It commences with the Muhammadan Emperors of India, but does not treat of them at any length till it reaches the reign of Akbar The History of the later Empire is particularly full, and would be worth translating had it not been anticipated by the *Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirín* The author was Muhammad 'Alí Khán Ansárí, son of Hidáyatu-llah Khán, son of Shamsu-d daula Lutfu-llah Khán, who enjoyed high offices under Farrukh Siyar and Muhammad Sháh The author was himself *dároglia* of the *Faujdári 'Adalat* of Tirhút and Hájípúr. He appears to have held much communication with the European officers of his time The work was composed about 1800 A D, and the history is brought down to the death of Ásafu-d daula in 1797 [This work is the principal authority relied upon by Mr Keene in his recent work, *The Fall of the Moghul Empire*, and he states that the name of the book is derived from the title "Muzaffar Jang," borne by "Nawáb Muhammad Rizá Khán, so famous in the history of Bengal" "Some of" the author's "descendants are still living at Pánípat."]

[The following Extracts have been translated by the Editor from a poor copy, apparently made expressly for Sir H M. Elliot. Size 9 in. by 6, containing 1005 pages of 15 lines each. The original copy from which it was taken is described as Folio, 246 pages of 24 lines each.]

EXTRACTS.

Revenues of Muhammad Sháh.

[(*The account tallies exactly with that given in* p 164, Vol VII. *excepting only the following item, and that the word pargana is substituted for mahál throughout*) Subá of Thatta, 4 *sarkars*, 57 *parganas*, 74,976,900 *dams*

Murder of Nawáb Bahadur the Eunuch Jáwed

The great advancement of the eunuch Jáwed, and the power he had acquired in the government of the State, gave great offence to Wazíru-l Mamálik Abú-l Mansúr Khán Safdar Jang, and led him to form a plot against the Nawáb He first called to his side Súraj Mal Ját with his army, and then sent re-assuring and soothing messages to the Nawáb Bahádur Having thus thrown him off his guard, Safdar Jang invited him to a banquet Safdar Jang placed a number of his trusty men on the watch in the palace of Dárá Shukoh, and having posted two hundred men inside and outside the palace, he sat down in great state to await the arrival of his guest * * When the Nawáb arrived, Safdar Jang advanced to receive him with ceremony and (apparent) cordiality After the meal was over, he gave his hand to his guest, and conducted him into a private room to talk over State affairs. They had not said much before Safdar Jang assumed a tone of asperity, but before he became heated, he moved to go into his private apartments Thereupon, 'Alí Beg Khán and some other Mughal officers came out, despatched the Nawáb with their daggers and swords, and having cut off his head, threw it outside [1] The Nawáb's attendants, on beholding this, took the alarm and fled, and the idlers and vagabonds of the city fell upon his equipage and plundered it

Death of Ghaziu-d dín A'saf Jáh Nizámu-l Mulk

In the month of Sha'bán, Amíru-l umará Ghází u-d dín Khán left his son, Shahábu-d dín Muhammad Khán, as his deputy in

[1] [See *suprà*, p 133]

the office of Mír Bakhshí, and proceeded towards the Dakhin, taking with him Malhár Ráo, on the promise of paying him money upon his arrival at home He reached Aurangábád at the end of Zí-l ka'da When intelligence of his arrival reached Haidarábád, Salábat Jang, third son of (the late) Ásaf Jáh, marched out with a great force to oppose his elder brother Malhár Ráo, being informed of these designs, and seeing that war between the two brothers was imminent, took the opportunity of asking for Khándesh and Khánpúr, which were old dependencies of Aurangábád He foresaw that the struggle with Salábat Jang would be severe, and he deemed it prudent to refrain from taking any part in it, because the officials of the Dakhin were in favour of the succession of Salábat Jang No fighting had taken place between the rivals, when Amíru-l umará (Gházíu-d dín) died His adherents, among whom was Muhammad Ibráhím Khán, uncle of the author of this work, carried his coffin to Dehlí. They also carried with them his money and valuables, exceeding a *kror* of rupees in amount, and delivered them over to his son Shahábu-d dín Muhammad Khán This young man, whenever his late father was absent, had deemed it best for his interests to be constant in his attentions to Safdar Jang, and by this conduct he had gained the favour of that minister, who showed him great kindness. When the intelligence of his father's death arrived, he communicated the fact to Safdar Jang before it was generally known, and from that day the minister called him his adopted son By the minister's influence, he was appointed *Mír Bakhshí*, and received the title of *Amíru-l umará Gházíu-d dín Khán 'Imádu-l Mulk* * *

After the murder of Nawáb Bahádur, the Emperor (Ahmad Sháh) felt great aversion for Safdar Jang, and extended his favour to Intizámu-d daula,[1] who, in consequence of the regulations established by Safdar Jang inside and outside of the palace, had ceased for some time to go to the *darbar*. One day the Emperor observed that Safdar Jang held the great offices of

[1] [Son of the late Kamru-d dín]

diwán-i kull and *wazir*, and that the post of superintendent of the *ghusl-khána*, and of the royal arsenal, with other less offices, might be left for others From that day great apprehension filled the mind of Safdar Jang, and he set himself either to win over Intizámu-d daula or to remove him out of the way.[1]

Ya'kúb Khán, son of that Haidar Khán who assassinated the *Amíru-l umara* Husain 'Alí Khán, went to the *darbar* one day, and after making his obeisance and sitting a short time, he rose quickly and asked leave to go home Intizámu-d daula was surprised, and said, "I am going to-day to pay a visit to the *wazír*, but what reason is that for your asking to go away?" He replied, "There are some thousands of men armed with swords and daggers waiting there for your honour, and as soon as ever you sit down, you will be served in the same way as the Nawáb Bahádur was Beware, and do not go there until affairs of State are settled" The caution was not lost upon Intizámu-d daula, and he sent an excuse to the *wazír* Communications about this went on for two or three days, * * and 'Imádu-l Mulk was also sent to re-assure and conciliate Intizámu-d daula * *

(In the course of these negociations) Safdar Jang sent a eunuch to the royal fortress with a letter, * * and the commandant, who was a creature of Safdar Jang's, contrary to usage, admitted him without the royal permission * * On this being reported to the Emperor, he was highly incensed, and ordered the commandant and the eunuch to be turned out * * All the servants and dependents of Safdar Jang were turned out of the fortress, not one was left. * * These things greatly troubled Safdar Jang, and for two or three days there was a talk of his attacking the house of Intizámu-d daula Large numbers of men were assembled before his gates from morning until night, and a great force of Mughals and others collected at the house of Intizámu-d daula; while many nobles gathered together at the royal abode.

[1] [Something seems to be left out between this and what follows—there are only a few words in the MS saying "armed men were present in readiness"]

Safdar Jang, seeing that his fortune had changed, sent to ask for permission to retire to his province of Oudh The Emperor instantly sent him a letter under his own signature, granting him permission to retire some days for the benefit of his health, and to return when better He had not expected this letter, and was greatly annoyed, but next day he took his departure, and marched away by the bank of the river * * For two or three days after leaving the city he waited in expectation of a royal summons, and sometimes moved in one direction, sometimes in another Inside the city, Intizámu-d daula and Gházíu-d dín Khán busied themselves in strengthening the fortifications, and in throwing up intrenchments outside. They manned them with their own men and with the "royal Játs,"[1] and exerted themselves to levy old soldiers and recruits Safdar Jang saw that they were resolved to overthrow him, and so he felt compelled to prepare for battle. In order to reinforce his army, he called to his assistance Súraj Mal Ját, and also Indar Gosáin, *Faujdar* of Bádalí, with a strong force of followers * *

By advice of Súraj Mal Ját and Salábat Khán Zú-l fikár Jang, the *wazir* Safdar Jang brought out a young prince and raised him to the royal throne As soon as news of this reached the city, the Emperor appointed Intizámu-d daula to be *wazír*, and made Hisám Khán Samsámu-d daula commander of the artillery From that day open hostilities commenced, and Safdar Jang invested Sháh-Jahánábád He took the old city and the houses outside the fortifications from the hands of the Játs, and plundered them * * When the contest had gone on for six months, and numbers of men had been killed on both sides, Mahárája Mádhú Singh Kachhwáha left his country, and approached the capital in the hope of making peace. * * It was settled that Safdar Jang should retain the provinces of Oudh and Allálhábád as before, and peace was made when he received the robe of investiture

After the retirement of Safdar Jang to his provinces, the new

[1] [Játs who adhered to the Emperor]

wazir, and Gházíu-d dín ('Imádu-l Mulk) the *Amíru-l umará*, endeavoured to establish some order in the State But envy and animosity arose between them, and each one acted according to his own views and interests Malhár Ráo and Jayapa Mahratta now arrived at the head of 60,000 horse, and (Gházíu-d dín) 'Imádu-l Mulk, who was expecting them, resolved to attack and punish Suraj Mal Ját for the part he had taken with Safdar Jang in plundering the environs of Sháh-Jahánábád. Intizámu-d daula, the *wazir*, desired to accept from Súraj Mal an offering of fifty *lacs* of rupees as the price of forgiveness, and to apply the money to the pay of the troops 'Imádu-l Mulk, proud of his victory over Safdar Jang, and urged on by the Mahrattas, marched out, and besieging Súraj Mal in the fort of Kumbher, he took possession of his territory In the course of three months Khándí Ráo, son of Malhár Ráo, was killed, and it became clear that the fort could not be reduced without heavy guns 'Imádu-l Mulk then sent Mahmúd Khán, who had been his *atálik* from childhood, * * to bring up the royal artillery * *

Intizámu-d daula had conceived the design of bringing the Mahárája, the Ráná, the Ráthor, and the Kachhwáha Rájas, whose territories and people had suffered greatly from the ravages of the Mahrattas, to form a league against these marauders He also hoped to win Safdar Jang, who had made overtures of reconciliation, and with their united forces to drive the Mahrattas out of Hindústán * * Accordingly he came to an agreement with Mahárája Mádhú Singh, Rám Singh, Safdar Jang, and Súraj Mal Ját, that as soon as the royal camp was pitched at Kol, Safdar Jang should first join him, and then the royal army should march on to Ágra Being joined at that capital by the Rájas and the Játs, they were to commence their work of settling the country, and of driving out the Mahrattas Accordingly the Emperor (Ahmad) and the *wazir* set out for Kol and Sikandra. * * On reaching the neighbourhood of Sikandra, numbers of the royal servants and of the adherents of the *amirs* in attendance

joined the camp Other men came in from all directions, and suitable artillery was obtained.

When the Emperor marched from Dehlí, 'Ákibat Mahmúd Khán followed * * He went to Intizámu-d daula, and complained of the grievances he felt from want of appreciation by 'Imádu-l Mulk Intizámu-d daula showed him great kindness, took him to the Emperor, and introduced him to the royal service Having got leave to go out on pretence of bringing aid, he went off to the town of Khoraja Intelligence now reached the royal camp that Malhár Ráo had gone to Dehlí with 50,000 horse, to bring one of the royal princes out of Salímgarh The receipt of this news greatly alarmed the Emperor * * Malhár Ráo approached the royal camp, and after consulting with 'Ákibat Mahmúd Khán, opened fire upon it with rockets and muskets * * The Emperor, without even consulting with his friends, resolved to go off to Dehlí with Sáhiba Zamání, his mother, * * and reached the citadel with his party * * In the morning Intizámu-d daula found that he had not more than three or four hundred men left, * * and hastened off to Dehlí with the Mahrattas in pursuit All the artillery and camp equipage fell into their hands, and the Emperor's mother was taken, and her equipage plundered * * Next day 'Imadu-l Mulk came up to the deserted forces, in which there was neither spirit nor power left He consoled them, and by kindness won them to his own side He waited on the Empress mother, to pay his respects, and make his excuses, * * and she proceeded on her way to Dehlí 'Imádu-l Mulk and Malhár Ráo walked a few paces on foot in attendance upon her They followed to Dehlí When Jayapa Mahratta saw that these two chiefs had gone off, and that he alone could not effect the reduction of Kumbher, he raised the siege, and went in the direction of Nárnaul Súraj Mal was thus relieved

The Emperor entered the fort, and on the evening of the same day he was joined by Intizámu-d daula, * * who advised that a force should be placed under him to throw up intrenchments round the fortress * * The Emperor replied "Ghází-d dín

Khán 'Imádu-l Mulk is an old adherent of our house, and will not think of doing me any harm. After receiving the expression of my wishes, he will not fail to effect the withdrawal of the Mahrattas. The best thing you can do is to go and keep quiet at home for a few days" * * He accordingly retired. 'Imádu-l Mulk sent a letter to the Emperor, demanding the office of *wazír*, and a new distribution of offices. * * Next day he came to the presence, and was installed as *wazír*. * * 'Ákibat Mahmúd Khán recommended that Ahmad Sháh should be deposed, and another prince raised to the throne in his stead 'Imádu-l Mulk and the Mahrattas were afraid of his power, and did not see how to act in opposition, so they acquiesced After that the lawyers were collected, and were consulted as to the deposition of Ahmad Sháh * * On their approval, Ahmad Sháh was removed from the throne on the 10th Sha'bán, and cast into prison * * After that they waited upon the royal princes who were in confinement, to select one to ascend the throne But the princes were afraid, and no one consented At length, after much trouble, Sultán 'Azízu-d dín, son of Jahándár Sháh, son of Bahádur Sháh, who during his seclusion had devoted himself to theological science, was prevailed upon to accept the crown, with the title of 'Azízu-d dín Muhammad 'Álamgír sání (II), on the 10th Sha'bán, 1167 A H [1] Ghází-u-d dín Khán 'Imádu-l Mulk was made *wazír*.

Ten days after the accession of 'Álamgír, the *wazír* 'Imádu-l Mulk and 'Ákibat Mahmúd Khán caused the deposed Emperor Ahmad and his mother to be blinded The manner of their contriving this was, that a forged letter under the seal of Ahmad was addressed to the new Emperor, which excited his apprehension On speaking of the matter to 'Imádu-l Mulk, he suggested that Ahmad should be deprived of sight, and the Emperor accordingly gave orders for the blinding both of him and his mother Their emissaries entered the private apartments of the deposed monarch, treated him with indignities which it is unfit to

[1] [Se[illegible] 140.]

write, and blinded him in a cruel manner His mother, who had endeavoured to obtain his release, was treated in the same way. 'Akibat Mahmúd Khán, in the service of 'Imádu-l Mulk, soon afterwards misconducted himself, and his master gave a hint, which was immediately acted upon, and the offender was killed.[1]

Accession of Sirája-d daula. Taking of Calcutta.

Nawáb Hisámu-d daula Mahábat Jang (Alivardi Khán) died of dropsy near Murshidábád, in the eightieth year of his age, on the 9th Rajab, 1169 A H (April 10, 1756 A D) From his early youth he had abstained from intoxicating liquors, he had no love for music, and never cohabited with any women except his own wives * * (His daughter's son), Siraju-d daula, son of Zainu-d dín Ahmad Khán Haibat Jang, succeeded him in his government of Bengal, Bihár and Orissa * *

Kishan Ballabh, a *zamíndár*, being in arrears with his revenue, Siráju-d daula gave orders for his imprisonment But he fled from Dacca, and took refuge in Calcutta, under the protection of Mr Drake, "the great gentleman" of that place When Siráju d daula was informed of this, he proceeded to Murshidábád, and prepared for war In the month of Ramazán, he started for Calcutta, from a place called Mansúr-ganj, which he had built, and on arriving at Calcutta, he pitched his tents outside The English gentlemen had but a small number of men, and were in want of implements, so they were unable to face him in the field They shut themselves up in the old fort, threw up intrenchments, and strengthened the defences Siráju-d daula had with him plenty of guns and large numbers of men, he gave orders for taking the houses, and in the twinkling of an eye he overpowered the English Mr Drake, seeing himself reduced to extremity, went on board ship with several of his people and sailed away. Those who were left behind had no leader, but they advanced to the defence When the ammunition was exhausted, some died fighting with the utmost bravery, others, with their wives and

[1] [See *supra*, p 142]

children, were made prisoners[1] All their wealth and property, which exceeded computation, was taken from the officers of the Company and other chiefs, and became the booty of the vagabonds in Siráju-d daula's army. This happened on the 22nd Ramazán, 1169 A.H (June 20, 1756 A D), two months and twelve days after the accession of Siráju-d daula. The factories belonging to the Company at Kásim-bázár, near Murshidábád, were also pillaged by orders of Siráju-d daula, and Mr Wájh (Watts), the chief of the factory, and some others, were made prisoners

Recovery of Calcutta Defeat of Siráju-d daula

Mr. Drake, the governor of Calcutta, after his defeat from Siráju-d daula, went on board ship with his party, and proceeded to Madras, a large factory belonging to the English Company. Other English officers, who were scattered over Bengal on various commissions, when they heard of the loss of Calcutta, escaped as best they could from the straits in which they were placed, and made their way to Madras At Madras was Colonel Clive, an officer of the army, and a servant of the King of England, who had command over the factories in the Dakhin In those days he had fought against the French, and had taken from them some of their possessions in the Dakhin, in recognition of which Muhammad Khán Salábat Jang, son of Ásaf Jáh, had given him the title of *Sabit Jang*, "Resolute in War" After consultation, Colonel Clive and the gentlemen from Calcutta embarked in ships, with nearly two regiments of Telingas and four companies of Europeans, and sailed to recover Calcutta

As soon as they arrived at the port of Falta, they overpowered the men of Siráju-d daula by the fire of their ships, and making their way up to Calcutta, they anchored there near the factory They sent proposals of peace to Siráju-d daula, asking pardon for Mr Drake, and offering to pay several *lacs* of rupees, on condition of being allowed to rebuild their factories in Calcutta. Siráju-d daula rejected the proposal, and did not even write an answer

[1] [Nothing is here said about the Black Hole]

Colonel Clive then resolved to fight, and placed four guns in position. Nának Chand (the commander of the place) made some show of fighting, but he soon fled Colonel Clive and his followers then took possession of their old factories.

The receipt of this news awoke Sirája-d daula from his dream of security[1] On the 12th Rabí'u-s sání, 1170 A H (Jan 4, 1757 A D), he marched from Murshidábád to fight the English with his army and a good complement of artillery. On reaching the place, he encamped in a suitable position, and a war of guns and muskets at once began The English endeavoured to treat, and sent their *wakíls* from time to time They sent a brave and intelligent person to Siraju-d daula, ostensibly to treat with him, but secretly to take notice of the ways and arrangements of the camp He went there, and after discharging the requirements of etiquette, he made his observations and returned In the course of a few days, the English prepared their forces, and one morning, before daybreak, fell upon the rear of Siráju-d daula's camp with volleys of musketry, and poured upon it showers of balls The Nawáb's men were helpless, many were killed, and many were wounded It is said that the object of the English in this night attack was to seize upon Siráju-d daula, and make him prisoner, but in consequence of a thick fog, the way to his tent was missed, and the files of musketeers passed another way So the Nawáb escaped the danger of being killed or captured The English returned to their ground in triumph and in joy

Siráju-d daula was terrified by this attack, and was afraid that it would be followed by another He felt the difficulty of maintaining his position, and having called a council of war, he pointed out the inutility of continuing the struggle, and the necessity of retreat The foundations of a peace were soon laid The English knew of his weakness and discouragement. They demanded compensation for the plunder of Calcutta, which amounted to a very large sum After some parley, the terms of peace were settled, and the Nawáb agreed to pay the sum demanded. They

[1] [The common expression "took the cotton out of his ears"]

required ready money, and Siráju-d daula gave them six *parganas* near Calcutta to hold until the money was paid. Mr. Watts, the superintendent of the factory at Kásim-bázár, obtained his release on the defeat of Siráju-d daula. He now carried on the negociations and correspondence between the two parties, and earned the thanks of both. Siráju-d daula took his departure for Murshidábád, and the English engaged in their commerce at Calcutta as heretofore. * *

The flames of war now broke out in the Dakhin between the French and English, between whom there has been enmity for five or six hundred years. The English prevailed, and their war-ships, under the command of Admiral Walker *Jang Bahádur*, were sent against Farás-dánga (Chandernagore), which is near to Húglí. The French had sunk ships in the river, leaving only room for the passage of their own ships one at a time. The English got their ships through that passage, beat the French, and took possession of Farás-dánga. They also took the factories near Kásim-bázár. Monsieur Lás,[1] the chief of the French, joined Siráju-d daula, and having collected his followers, he entered into his service with them, and a number of Telingas whom he had drilled.

The English, being informed of this, sent their *wakíl* to Siráju-d daula, remonstrating that as peace had been made with him, the enemies of one must be looked upon as the enemies of the other, and friends regarded as mutual friends. They were faithful to the agreement they had made, and they required the Nawáb to dismiss M. Lás, and give him no support. His neglect to do this would be regarded as a breach of the treaty. Those who were opposed to M. Lás, and were well-wishers of the Nawáb, earnestly pressed him to comply, to dismiss M. Lás, and not to let such a bone of contention put an end to the peace with the English. Siráju-d daula talked and corresponded with M. Lás

[1] ["This Monsieur Lass is the same (as he) whom the French call Monsieur Lass, a son of the famous Scotchman John Law, comptroller of the finances in 1720 at Paris."—*Seir Mutaqherin*, vol. ii. p. 78. Note of the French translator.]

on the subject, who represented that the Nawáb had a large force of his own, and that no harm could come to his authority from accepting the services of a French officer and his men. Siráju-d daula urged this upon the English *wakil*, but he still strongly insisted upon the removal of M. Lás So Siráju-d daula of necessity sent him away, but told him to proceed to Patna, and make no delay on the road

After this the enemies of Siráju-d daula, that is to say, Nawáb Mír Ja'far Khán, Rajá Dúlabh Rám, Jagat Seth, and some others, who were sorely tried by him, passed their days and nights in fear and hope They came to an understanding with each other, and schemed for the destruction of his life and authority His maternal aunt, Ghasítí Begam, daughter of Alivardi Khán, who was incensed against him for his seizure of her cash and household goods, joined his enemies secretly Siráju-d daula summoned Mír Muhammad Ja'far, one of his old associates, to a private meeting, and gave him instructions for raising forces secretly, upon which he proceeded to engage every unemployed soldier he could find But afterwards he did his best to thwart Siráju-d daula, and to urge on the English

Colonel Clive *Sabit-jang*, being informed of what was passing, and of the evils meditated, cast aside the treaty of peace and prepared for war He marched from Calcutta, to the great dismay of Siráju-d daula, who sought to conciliate and encourage his own adherents He sent Rája Dúlabh Rám forward with a force to choose a suitable place for throwing up intrenchments and collecting guns Rai Dúlabh started on his commission Openly he applied himself to carry out the orders of his master, but in his secret heart he lost no opportunity of scheming for his overthrow He was careful to observe the conditions of the treaty with the English on his own part and on the part of Nawáb Mír Muhammad Ja'far, and he won over the officers of the army of Siráju-d daula by offers of money Mír Muhammad Ja'far occupied himself continually in the same way So they gathered large numbers around them, and few were left to Siráju-d daula.

Colonel Clive now approached, and Sirāju-d daula was obliged to move from Mansúr-ganj, and proceeded with his officers to Plassy. The Colonel, with a small army, which might number three or four thousand men, advanced with great courage and daring, and encamped opposite the army of the Nawáb On the 5th Shawwál, 1170 A H. (June 23, 1757 A D), fire was opened on every side, and the engagement became warm. Europeans are very skilful in the art of war, and in the use of artillery, and they kept up such an incessant fire that the hearers were deafened, and the beholders blinded Many were killed, and many wounded Mír Madan (the commander-in-chief), a brave and resolute man, who was the guiding spirit of Sirāju-d daula, received a mortal wound from a cannon-ball He caused himself to be conveyed to his master, and died after speaking a few words of advice and devotion Sirāju-d daula was greatly moved by his death, and sent to summon Mír Muhammad Ja'far That officer, having resolved upon an infamous course, went to him, accompanied by some other chiefs Sirāju-d daula was greatly dejected, he apologized to Mír Ja'far for the wrongs he had done him, and asked for his advice Mír Ja'far advised that as little of the day remained, he should recall his advanced force within the lines, and put off the battle to the next day, adding that he would provide for the safety of the army and the conduct of the battle

Sirāju-d daula directed his *díwán*, Mohan Lál, who was eager to fight, to go and stop the fighting until next day, and return to the lines The *díwan* replied that it was no time for turning back; upon which Sirāju-d daula again conferred with Mír Ja'far, who reiterated his advice The Nawáb was bewildered, and could do nothing but follow the counsel of Mír Ja'far He sent strict orders recalling Mohan Lál, who was fighting manfully at his post As soon as the *díwán* retired, many, who were overmatched, took the alarm, and fled to their defences A general panic ensued, followed by a signal defeat. On learning the condition of his army, Sirāju-d daula was filled with dismay; he feared the

enemies in front, and his hostile servants around him, and fled in haste towards Murshidábád. On the 6th Shawwál he reached Mansúr-ganj, and looked around for friends and help But misfortune has no friend Even Muhammad Íraj Khán, father of his wife, made no effort to help him To satisfy his soldiers, he opened his treasury, and each man got what was his luck His followers, seeing him helpless, carried off large sums under various pretences to their homes After staying a short time at Mansúr-ganj, on the 7th Shawwál, he secured plenty of *ashrafis*, and taking with him his favourite Lutfu-n nissa, his wife and his youngest daughter, and several others, he departed in carts and other vehicles towards Bhagwán-gola When he was near Chaukdhath, Mír Muhammad Kásim Khán, son-in-law of Mír Ja'far, having heard of his flight, hastened after him with several men, and demanded money and jewels, and he was obliged to give him a box of jewels belonging to Lutfu-n nissa Mír Kásim then turned back with his valuable prize * * On reaching Bhagwán-gola, Siráju-d daula embarked on a boat, and went on his way to Patna

It is said that when Siráju-d daula heard that the English army had marched from Calcutta to make war upon him, he wrote a letter to Monsieur Lás, according to promise, and urgently called him to his aid He directed Rája Rám Naráin, governor of Bihár, to supply him with money The Rája saw that the Nawáb's star was on the decline, and purposely made a delay of some days in supplying the money. Meanwhile, Siráju-d daula had been defeated at Plassy, and arrived at Mansúr-ganj M. Lás and Muhammad 'Alí Khán, a distinguished cavalry officer, set off in boats from Patna, and went as far as Ráj-mahál. There they heard that Siráju-d daula had been made prisoner, and they returned to Patna.

CXXIX

SHÁH-NÁMA

OR

MUNAWWARU-L KALÁM

OF

SHEO DÁS

[THIS compilation commences with the reign of Farrukh Siyar, and ends with the fourth year of the reign of Muhammad Sháh, but it was not finished before the year 1217 A H (1802 A D). The author was Sheo Dás, of Lucknow. He was moved to write the work by the consideration that "he had been allowed to remain a long time in the society of learned, scientific, and highly talented men—and had spent his life in the service of the great He had moreover applied himself to acquiring the art of writing with elegance, and so he determined to show the results of his society in his composition He named his work *Shah-nama* or *Munawwaru-l Kalam*, because he had been on terms of intimacy with the great, and derived advantages from them." He follows the fashion of historians, and, although a Hindú, opens his work like a devout Musulmán

The whole of this work has been translated for Sir H. M. Elliot by "Lieut Prichard, 15th Regt N. I" The work contains a good deal of biography and anecdote, but the period it covers has been already provided for by Extracts from contemporary writers.]

CXXX

IKHTISA'RU-T TAWA'RI'KH

OF

SAWAN SINGH.

THIS compendium was composed in the year 1217 A H (1802 A.D) by Sawan Singh, son of Thán Singh, a Káyath of the Máthúr tribe It is professedly a mere abridgment of the *Lubbu-t Tawarikh* of Bhárá Mal, and the *Hadikatu-t Akalim.*

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Preface, p 1—Hindú Rájas, p 3—Musulmán Kings of Dehlí, Muhammad Sám to Bábar, p 16—Bábar, Afgháns, and Humáyún, p 73—Akbar and Jahángír, p 92—Sháh Jahán and Aurangzeb, p 98—Sháh 'Álam I to Sháh 'Álam II , p. 148

SIZE—8vo , 181 pages, each containing 15 lines

The *Ikhtisaru-t Tawarikh* contains nothing worth translation

The only copy I have seen of this work is in the possession of Maulaví Subhán 'Alí, of Amroha, in the district of Murádabád

CXXXI

MIR-A'T-I AFTA'B-NUMA'

OF

SHA'H NAWA'Z KHA'N

THIS "Sun-reflecting Mirror" is a useful compilation written in 1803 A D by 'Abdu-r Rahmán, better known as Sháh Nawáz Khán Háshimí, subsequently Prime Minister to the nominal Emperor Akbar II The name appears to be derived from the poetical title of *Aftab*, which the author assumed by direction of Sháh 'Álam

The *Mir-át-i Aftáb-numá* contains abundant matter, as the following Table of Contents will show and some of the notices respecting the countries and cities of Hindústán, as well as the Biographical articles, are well and correctly drawn up The historical details of the first thirty years of the reign of Sháh 'Alam are treated in some detail , but the preceding reigns are given in a more compendious shape Altogether, as an historical work it is of little value The History of Muhammadan India commences with the Slave Kings, but in the work the detailed history begins with the Mughal sovereigns The work is divided into a Preface, two Parts, and a Conclusion. There are several chapters (*jajalli*, lustres) in each Part, and several sections (*dama*, brilliances) in each chapter

Preface Regarding the origin and advantages of history, p 5 to 7 —Part I in six chapters i. The Creation of the World, containing sections on Meteorology, Mines, Stones, Products of the Earth, Animals, Man and his Limbs, and Ethics, pp. 7 to 123—ii Different kinds of Prophets, containing sections on Adam, Idrís, Paradise, pp. 123 to 214—iii. History of Muhammad, containing sections on his Descendants, Wives, Chief Khalífs, and Friends, pp 214 to 249—iv Account of the Súfís, Saints, Philosophers, Poets, Artists, Calligraphers and Hindú Sects in several sections, pp. 249 to 414—v Kings of Arabia and Persia, the Ummayide and 'Abbáside Khalífs, and other Asiatic dynasties, the Ghorian Kings of Dehlí, the Kings of the Dakhin, and the ancient Rájas of India, pp 414 to 494—vi The Gúrgání Kings, their nobles and ministers, and the celebrated songsters of their time, with notices of Indian music, pp 494 to 741. Part II. in eight chapters The first seven are devoted to an account of the seven grand divisions of the world, pp 741 to 896. Chap. viii describes the seven seas, pp 896 to 910. The Conclusion is occupied with a description of the wonders and curiosities of different countries, pp. 910 to 924.

Size—4to., 924 pages, of 18 lines each

CXXXII

INTIKHÁBU-T TAWÁRÍKH

OF

MIRZÁ MÁSÍTÁ

The author of this little work is Mirzá Másítá, descended, both on his father's and mother's side, from ancestors of some consideration in India The first of his paternal ancestors who came to India was Alíwardi Khán Turkomán, said to be descended from Sultán Sanjar, the Saljúkí sovereign He arrived in the time of Jahángír, and by his bravery and good qualities (especially that of being a good sportsman, and the inventor of a mode of hunting styled Túrkalání [1]), obtained admission into the rank of the Nobles of that Emperor, and amongst other offices conferred upon him by his successor Sháh Jahán, he was appointed Governor of Málwá, in succession to Khán-daurán Khán There are laudatory articles respecting him in the *Tazkiratu-l Umara* and *Ma-ásiru-l Umara* One of his ancestors on the mother's side was the celebrated Islám Khán, the minister of Sháh Jahán, who was at one time invested with almost independent power in the government of three *subas* of the Dakhin, so that the author had reason to be proud of his honourable descent

The *Intikhabu-t Tawarikh* was composed by Mirzá Másítá for the instruction of his son, Karimu-llah Khán, commonly called

[1] Sháh Nawáz Khán Samsámu-d daula says that this is also called Bawar, that it was invented in the twenty-first year of Jahángír's reign, and cost the inventor 2400 rupees It consisted of a series of exceedingly strong nets, the weight of eighty camel-loads, ten thousand royal yards long, and six broad It was fixed like the walls of a tent to strong poles, and no wild animal, when once caught, could break through the meshes

Mirzá Kallú It is a mere abstract history, and it is not shown to what works the author is indebted for his limited information

The work is divided into an Introduction, two Books, and a Conclusion. The first Book is devoted to the Kings of Dehlí, Multán, Sind, Kashmír, Jaunpúr, Bengal, and Gujarát, the second to the Kings of the Dakhin, and is divided into *warak*, "leaves," and *satar*, "lines"

CONTENTS

Size—Large Folio, 166 pages with 27 lines to a page

The *Tarikh-i Masita* is rare The only copy with which I am acquainted is in one of the Royal Libraries of Lucknow

The work was written during the reign of Sháh 'Álam, but as the copy is deficient in some parts of that reign, the precise year with which the history concludes cannot be ascertained

CXXXIII.

SA'ÁDAT-I JÁWED

OF

HARNÁM SINGH

The author of this work was Harnám Singh, a Sarsuti Bráhmin. He was born at Bráhmanábád, in the province of Láhore, and resided at Maláwanui, near Lucknow His father was Gurdás Singh, who, having been in public employ under the Nawábs of Oudh, is the frequent subject of mention and eulogy in the latter part of this History

In the opening of this work the author proceeds like a Musulmán to "invoke thousands of blessings upon the most exalted Prophet, the bestower of mercy in the world, the last of all the prophets, he who carried his steed to the field of the ninth heaven, the messenger of God the Creator, Muhammad the chosen, may the blessings of God be upon him, and peace upon all his descendants and friends!"

The author states that from his earliest youth he was a lover of historical studies, and used to devote his leisure hours to writing accounts of Kings, Rájas, and Nobles of the various provinces of Hindústán, but as his circumstances were as embarrassed and perplexed as the loose notes he had taken, he was not able to collect them into a book, till he had been honoured by the patronage of Sa'ádat 'Alí, after whom he denominates his work *Sa'adat-i Jáwed*—"Eternal Bliss"

His dedication is more than usually eulogistic, and we may guess the extent of his gratitude from his speaking of his patron in the following extravagant rhapsody —"One under whose government the name of tyranny and oppression is erased from the page of the world, and before (the mention of) whose generosity the book of Hátim is put aside. The sun of whose

bounty shines from east to west, and the fame of whose general benevolence has reached throughout the whole world. From the drops of whose liberality the garden of the world is always green, and from the stream of whose munificence the orchards of the hopes of all nations are perpetually fresh. From the fear of whose spear the lion crouches near the deer, and the blow of whose sharp sword shortens the life of cruel savages. The clouds of whose generosity rain equally over the rich and the poor, and the ocean of whose bounty benefits the great and the small alike. One who is so liberal that the revenue of the seven regions of the earth does not suffice for one day of his expenditure, and so great that the height of Saturn and 'Ayyúk is not equal to that of his palace. One from whose birth the Muhammadan world became exalted, and from whose hospitality the fame of 'Alí is increased. One who in establishing Islám has shown himself a great warrior, and in promulgating the true faith is as firm and immovable as the Polar Star. One who resembles Aristotle in wisdom, and whose mind is devoted to the welfare of his subjects. One who is equal to Sikandar in prosperity, and who by his conquests has subjugated the whole world—the Rustam of the Age, the Hátim of the time, a Kisrá in justice, Bahrám in attack, destroyer of the foundation of infidelity and idolatry,[1] establisher of Islám and the Moslems, possessing a prudence like that of Plato, the chief of all the great men of the world, the sun of all the renowned nobles, the theatre of the miracles of God, and the achiever of endless victories, the great *wazír* Nawáb Yamínu-d daula Nizámu-l Mulk Mubáriz Jang Sa'ádat 'Alí Khán—may God ever increase his prosperity and wealth!

"A minister who protected the world by his equity and justice,
Master of the sword, and possessed of a noble disposition,
The most fortunate, brave and just,
One who like the sun gives gold to the world.
A brave man who can overcome a tiger, and catch a lion,
In strength and courage has no one equal to himself,

[1] A Hindú is writing.

When he gives, he is a second Hátim,
At the time of battle, he is another Rustam;
Through his justice the heads of proud tyrants are bowed down,
All his works are readily and expeditiously done
From the excess of his liberality, bounty, and generosity,
He makes an impression upon the sun and moon, as a die on a diram
If I were to speak of his justice,
The story of Naushírwán would sink into oblivion
The heavens before his greatness bow down their heads
The foundation of violence is entirely rooted out
If he gird up his loins in the field of battle,
Alarm will spread from India to Europe
The whole country of Hindústán is obedient to him
Nay, I am wrong, I mean the whole world, from one extremity to the other
The destiny of the heavens is conformable to his orders
Victory adorns his flag
Who has seen his equal in justice and generosity?
He is the greatest in all the world, and superior to all men of courage,
In strength like an elephant, and in bravery like a lion,
Bold in his heart, both in the cabinet and the field,
Head of all great men, and the crown of all the chiefs
In the time of his government, O world, be happy!
If any person seeks protection from calamity,
He finds rest nowhere but in this country
Come, oh Nánú![1] shut your lips from speech,
Because his rank is too great
If a book be written in his praise,
It would still be too small in the estimation of a wise man
How can a particle of dust speak of the sun,
And what account will be taken of it, if it open its lips?
O God! keep this noble *wazír* for ever,
With all his ancient pomp, wealth and dignity
May his shadow be preserved to cover the world!
May the heads of exalted nobles be his footstool!"

[1] This is the author's *takhallus*, or poetical designation, and he seems proud of his talent for versification, as he intersperses several scraps of poetry amongst his prose

After this fulsome nonsense, we cannot expect much truth when he speaks of his benefactor; but the work is, nevertheless, useful for the biographical details which it gives of the Nobles who were most conspicuous in the history of India from the reign of Muhammad Sháh to the author's own time

The precise date of composition is not given, but as Lord Lake's siege of Bhartpúr is mentioned, and Sa'ádat 'Alí was the reigning Nawáb of Oudh, the work must have been written between the years 1805 and 1814.

The *Sa'adat-i Jáwed* is divided into four Books.

CONTENTS

SIZE—Small 8vo, containing 504 pages of 14 lines each, but a few pages are missing at the end

The first, second, and third Books are too short to be of any value, and they are for the most part mere abstracts of other common works The fourth Book conveys information in a useful, and occasionally a novel form, and has, therefore, been copiously abstracted from in the following pages

The *Sa'adat-i Jawed* is a rare work I have never heard of any other copy but that in one of the Royal Libraries at Lucknow, which I should have supposed to be an autograph, but that my own copy, which is taken from it, is so very full of errors that I can hardly suppose the original to be free from them. [The following Extracts were translated by *munshis*, and revised by Sir H M. Elliot]

EXTRACTS

Nawáb Mumtazu-l Mulk Sarbuland Khán

He was an inhabitant of Lún, and his name was Mirzá Rafí'. His father, Muhammad Afzal Khán, was one of the nobles of the Emperor Muhammad Aurangzeb Mirzá Rafí', who was the *díwán* of Prince 'Azímu-s Shán, displayed great bravery in the battle with A'zam Sháh, and obtained the title of Mumtázu-l Mulk Sarbuland Khán In the time of Mu'izzu-d dín Jahándár Sháh, when Prince 'Azímu-s Shán was slain, Sarbuland Khán, disregarding his obligations, forsook Farrukh Siyar, son of 'Azímu-s Shán, and joined Mu'izzu-d dín He was deputed to Gujarát on the part of Asad Khán, the minister, and through the recommendations of Kutbu-l Mulk Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khán, Farrukh Siyar, after his accession, pardoned him for his past conduct, and conferred on him the Governorship of Oudh and Alláhábád

After some time he became Governor of the province of Bihár He then obtained the rank of seven thousand, as well as a *jágír* in the *súba* of Láhore, and the office of *súbadár* of Kábul. In the time of Muhammad Sháh Badsháh, he was again made Governor of Gujarát, and when he was removed from that office, he fought a desperate battle with Rája Dhankal Singh Ráthor, who had been appointed Governor in his place, and obtained victory over him. When he came to Ágra, the displeasure of the Emperor was evinced by prohibiting him from attending Court for one thousand days When that period had elapsed, he was admitted to an audience by Muhammad Sháh, and was raised to the Governorship of Alláhábád At the time of the invasion of Nádir Sháh, he came to Court Nádir Sháh entrusted him with the duty of collecting the amercement fixed upon the people of Dehlí He departed to the next world in 1153 A H. He was a favourite of the Emperor, and always victorious in battle He was generous, polite, merciful and humane. He always drank the water of the Ganges, and during his governor-

ship of Gujarát and Kábul, large sums were laid out in carrying it to those provinces. It was said by Mansúr Rám, his treasurer, that fifty-six *krors* of rupees in cash, independent of personal allowance, had passed through his hands for the payment of the Nawáb's troops, and other necessary expenses of the different departments His power may be readily conjectured from this single statement

Nawáb Burhánu-l Mulk's contest with Raja Bhagwant Khichar[1]

Rája Bhagwant[2] Khíchar, *Zamíndár* of Gházípúr, in the district of Kora, was the chief of the insurgents of that time He was a source of constant trouble to Ján-nisár Khán, who had married the sister of Kamru-d dín Khán, the minister, and who had charge of the district of Kora On one occasion, when Nawáb Sarbuland Khán, the Governor of Alláhábád, came to Kora, Ján-nisár Khán asked him for his aid in destroying Bhagwant Sarbuland Khán said that it would take much time to subdue Bhagwant, and he had no money to pay the army, but that, if Ján-nisár Khán could provide him with this necessary, he would punish Bhagwant Ján-nisár Khán refused, and Sarbuland Khán returned to Alláhábád Bhagwant, who was watching the opportunity of rising against Ján-nisár Khán, allowed but a short time to elapse, before he suddenly fell upon him, and having put him to death, plundered his camp, and took the ladies of his household, and distributed them between himself and his relatives.[3] Kamru-d dín Khán, the minister, was furious at this intelligence, and, aided by all the nobles of Dehlí, he marched

[1] This story, which so fully exemplifies the decline of the monarchy, is told in detail in the *Hadikatu-l Akálim*, the *Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirin*, the *Muntakhabu-t Tawárikh* and the *Tarikh-i Muzaffari* Rustam 'Alí's account will be seen above at p 52

[2] He is called Ajázú, Azárú, and Udárú, in some of the accounts We found his descendants in possession at the time of the Cession, who, after exhibiting the hereditary turbulence of the family, were pacified by a pension.

[3] The *Muntakhabu-t Tawárikh* says Ráp Rái, the son of Bhagwant, took the governor's daughter, who poisoned herself to save her honour

against Bhagwant. The rebel secured himself within the fort of Gházípúr, and though the minister exerted every effort against him, they all proved ineffectual. In the end, he left Nawáb Muhammad Khán Bangash, of Farrukhábád, to prosecute the siege, and himself returned to Dehlí Muhammad Khán adjusted the matter by receiving a contribution, and then returned to Farrukhábád At this Bhagwant, being more emboldened than ever, raised the head of arrogance to the heavens, and took possession of Kora.

When the charge of that district was conferred by His Majesty on Burhánu-l Mulk, he went there with a formidable army Bhagwant, with a body of three thousand horse, sallied from the fort of Gházípúr, and suddenly appeared before the army of the Nawáb on its arrival, upon which occasion many of his followers were killed by the Nawáb's artillery Bhagwant, avoiding the fire of the guns, fell upon the advanced division of the army, which was headed by Abú Turáb Khán This officer was slain, and Bhagwant then attacked the Nawáb's body-guard Mír Khudáyár Khán, with 6000 horse, advanced to oppose him, and was defeated after a severe action The Nawáb himself thought it necessary to move to his support, and a close conflict ensued Shaikh 'Abdu-llah of Gházípúr, Shaikh Rúhu-l Amín Khán of Bilgrám, Durjan Singh[1] *chaudhari* of Kora, Diláwar Khán, 'Azmat Khán and other Afgháns, attacked and surrounded Bhagwant, who affected to despise his enemy, but was slain by the hands of Durjan Singh *chaudhari* Nawáb Burhánu-l Mulk obtained the victory, and the head[2] of Bhagwant was sent to Dehlí

Be it known that heaps of paper would have to be written were I to give an account of the battles which the deceased Nawáb fought, or were I to attempt to describe the acts of his

[1] Some call him a relative of Bhagwant in the Nawáb's service Others call him a Bráhmin

[2] Other authorities state that his skin was stuffed with straw, and sent as a present to the minister

generosity, patronage, and liberality The Almighty God, by virtue of the excellent character of that great noble, whose rank was as high as the heavens, and who possessed the qualities of Rizwán the doorkeeper of Paradise, has opened the gates of prosperity to his descendants even to this very time May the holy God preserve the foundation of the wealth, dignity and authority of this house to eternity, and give victory to its well-wishers, and may the wicked enemies of his family, from which the whole of Hindústán is benefited, be confounded and punished! May the desolated world be filled by his noble descendants, to the day of resurrection!

An account of the death of Nawáb Burhánu-l Mulk, which happened at the time of the invasion of Nádir Sháh, by a disease in his legs, has been given above After his death it was found by his accounts that his army had received two *kors* of rupees in advance Nawáb Safdar Jang, his son-in-law and successor, expunged that enormous sum, and resigned all claim to it An account of Nawáb Safdar Jang, and of his accession to the post of *Wazarat* in the time of Ahmad Sháh, son of Muhammad Shah, will be given hereafter

Maharaja Jai Singh Sawai, of the Kachhuáhá tribe

His ancestors have been from ancient times the Rájas of Amber Amongst them was Rája Bhárá Mal, whose son was Rája Bhagwán Dás, and Rája Mán Singh was the eldest son of that Rája. These, in the time of the Emperor Akbar, were raised to the dignity of *Amíru-l umara* or generals of the army With a view to strengthening the foundation of his government, Akbar connected himself by marriage with this family They rendered valuable services and performed great exploits, which are narrated in the histories of Hindustán. Mahárája Jai Singh was very generous, kind, wise and brave After his death, thirty *krors* of rupees were reckoned to have been given by him in charity and rewards. He performed the sacrifice of a horse according to the well-known Hindú custom.

The city of Jainagar is a monument of his greatness. After his death, Muhammad Sháh granted a *khil'at* to his son Rája Isrí Singh, confirming him in his hereditary dominions This Prince, in the battle fought against Ahmad Sháh Durrání, fled from Sirhind, and went to his country as has been before related

The descendants of Rája Jai Singh Sawáí are still in possession of their hereditary dominions, and maintain great state. As the lamp of Dehlí has been long since extinguished, and the Dakhinís (Mahrattas) have taken possession of most of the cities of Hindústán, and the Rájas of Joudhpur, U'dípúr and other Chiefs of Marwár have become weak, and pass their days as if they were nights, so also the Rájas of Jainagar pay a fixed annual tribute to the Dakhinís and enjoy a state of peace.

Nawab Zakariya Khan, son of Nawáb 'Abdu-s Samad Khan.

Zakariya Khán was for many years Governor of Láhore He had married the daughter of Kamru-d dín Khán He was a just, harmless and honourable nobleman, and as he found the people of Láhore to be similarly disposed, their company was very agreeable to him In those days the bigoted Mullás of Láhore used to dispute with the Hindús on religious points, and persecuted them, but the Khán always tried to adjust their quarrels amicably

A Mughal was enamoured of the wife of a Khattrí, and cast a longing look upon her, but the modest woman refused to receive his advances The Mughal hit upon the expedient of making an accomplice of the wife of the washerman whom she employed, and gave her a large sum of money The washerman's wife wrapped up a costly veil and trowsers, such as are generally worn by a Muhammadan bride, in the other clothes belonging to the Khattrí's wife, and took them to her in the evening. About the same time, the Mughal celebrated in his own house his nuptials with a slave-girl who lived with him, in the presence of some Muhammadans of his neighbourhood, and, as is done on

the occasion of marriages, sweetmeats, etc, were sent in large quantities to the neighbours and friends. The next day, with a number of wicked characters, he went to the house of the Khattrí, and declared, that during the night, the Khattrí's wife had come to his house of her own free will, and having embraced the Muhammadan faith, had been married to him The relatives of the woman were much surprised at this, and asked her what the truth was She said that she had never seen the Mughal, who asserted, by way of proof, that the marriage clothes which she had worn last night must be in the house, and when they searched, true enough, there was found a suit of such apparel as is worn, according to Muhammadan custom, at the time of marriage

Great were the consternation and grief of her relatives, and the poor woman in her shame resolved to die At last, the matter was brought before the Khán, and about a hundred Muhammadans of the neighbourhood of the Mughal, who had eaten the sweetmeats, declared that on the previous night the Mughal had in reality celebrated his nuptials The Kází of Láhore decreed that a Hindú woman, who had espoused the Muhammadan faith, and had entered into marriage with a Muhammadan, could not be allowed to apostatize again The Khán was much surprised, and deferred his decision to the next day

In the night-time, he disguised himself in the habit of a *fakír*, and first went to the house of the woman There he saw some other *fakírs* sitting in a corner, conversing with each other in this wise "Friends, we have observed this woman for a long time, and have never found her conduct other than modest and continent How could it be that she went to the Mughal and was married to him? God knows what deception has been practised" The Khán, having heard this, went to the quarter in which the Mughal was residing, and there heard some people saying, "This Mughal is a fornicator, liar, and impostor. We never saw the wife of the Khattrí coming to his house, how then was she married to him?" The Khán returned to his house, and the next morning, having called the washerman's wife, put her to

torture, when she confessed that the Mughal had given her money to place that bridal apparel amongst the woman's clothes The Khán put both the Mughal and the washerman's wife to death Many stories like this of the justice of the said Khán were related in Láhore May God forgive him for his sins!

Lála Lakhpat Rái and Jaspat Rái, both Khattrís of Láhore, were secretaries and counsellors of Zakariya Khán, and entrusted with the conduct of all his affairs Although they both had received the title of Rája, yet they did not themselves assume that appellation When Nádir Sháh, after his plunder of Dehlí, returned to his native country, he ordered that all the people of Láhore should be taken away prisoners Lála Lakhpat Rái made him a present of three *lacs* of rupees, which were accepted, and having thus caused the freedom of about five hundred thousand people, male and female, of the Hindú and Muhammadan persuasions, he left a good name behind him in this world

Raja Majlis Rai

Rája Majlis Rái, a Sarsutí Bráhmin, inhabitant of Láhore, was *diwán* of Kamru-d dín Khán, the minister It is said that although he was the head of the minister's office, yet he could not write a letter His clerks used to compose all his official records One day, Kamru-d dín Khán ordered the Rája to write in his presence, and having seen bad writing, said, "Rája Majlis Rái, how could you get the Wazárat of Hindustán with this elegant hand?" He replied, "My master, good luck does not require either knowledge or art, for it is said, 'Fortune equal to a barleycorn is better than a whole load of science'" Rája Majlis Rái was very generous and a great friend of the needy. During the winter he gave quilts to the *fakirs* who wandered about the lanes and streets of Dehlí, and from his dispensary all kinds of medicines were given to the poor patients

Nádir Sháh seized Majlis Rái, with a view to discover the treasures of Kamru-d dín Khán, and in his own presence, asked

him where they were. He replied, "O King of Kings! the minister is very luxurious and a great drunkard; what he gets he consumes, and lays by nothing." Nádir Sháh, being angry, menaced him with punishment. Majlis Ráí then presented him, from his own stores, with a *kror* of rupees in cash, jewels and other property, and said that it was all procured from the treasure of the minister. Nádir Sháh, at the instigation of some of the nobles of Hindústán, who acted according to the saying that people of the same profession hate each other, put Rája Majlis Ráí to the torture, and cut off one of his ears. Although the whole treasure of the minister was in his possession, yet he did not discover it to any man. He took the Emperor's soldiers with him to his house, and having stabbed a dagger into his belly, departed this world. Nádir Sháh was very sorry on hearing of the intelligence, and remarked that he was a rare instance of a grateful Hindú. He then ordered the Rája's servants to be punished. In all the city of Dehlí exclamations arose in praise and admiration of the departed soul of Majlis Ráí.

His eldest son, Rája Khushhál Ráí, was superintendent of the bath and private chapel, an office which generally belongs to the prime minister.

Defeat of Hurmat Khan, son of Háfiz Rahmat Khan

In these days, Hurmat Khán Rohilla, son of Háfiz Rahmat Khán, having collected a force of about 20,000 vagabonds and Afgháns, crossed the Ganges at Anúpshahr. He laid siege to the fort of Pílíbhít, which was in possession of the minister's adherents, and began to spead devastation throughout the country. He determined that when the army of the minister should come against him, he would fly to the forests at the foot of the Kumáún hills. Mahárája Súrat Singh sent the father of the writer of these pages, Ráí Gurdás, against Hurmat Khán, who, on hearing that the army of the minister was approaching, abandoned the siege of Pílíbhít, and pitched his camp on the borders of the jungle. Ráí Gurdás Singh pursued and came up

to his encampment, upon which Hurmat Khán set his army in array, and, after a very severe engagement, was defeated and fled, leaving some of his men in ambush in a ravine Rái Gurdás Singh, being an experienced man, obtained intelligence of the ambuscade, and with a body of his gallant companions in arms went to the place The scheme of the Afghàns being thus disconcerted, they fled away About two thousand of them were killed and wounded, and victory declared in favour of the Nawáb Wazír. Hurmat Khán took refuge in the Kumáún hills, and Rái Gurdás Singh sacked the villages which were below the hills, and within the territory of the Rája of Kumáún He also determined to invade him in the hills, but the Rája sent his ambassadors, and sued for peace Hurmat Khán fled beyond the Kumáún jurisdiction, and sought protection under some other hill chiefs In the mean time a letter was received from Nawáb A'safu-d daula, of which the following is a copy

"May the sincere and faithful Rái Gurdás Singh be protected from evil! It has been represented by the intelligencers, that having proceeded with the army placed under you against Hurmat Khán Rohilla, you have given him a complete defeat This is considered a most valuable service on your part You should now take a written engagement from the Rája of Kumáún to the effect that he will never give protection to the enemies of this State within his dominions, and having done this, you should return from that country You should consider these orders imperative, and act according to them"

In short, the father of the writer of this book took a definite agreement from the Rája of Kumáún to this effect, and returned During these same days Mahárája Súrat Singh was removed from the governorship of Bareilly, which was bestowed upon other officials.

Beni Bahádur.

A person named Beni, who was first employed by Rája Mahá Naráin as the carrier of his water-vessel, but latterly was

employed by him on certain occasions as a medium of communication with the Nawáb, actuated by his bad disposition, began to complain of the conduct of his master before the Nawáb The Nawáb at first appointed him to the charge of certain districts, but by degrees the star of his fortune rose to the height of the fulfilment of his desire. He became deputy of the Nawáb, obtained the title of Rája Bení Bahádur, and was exalted with the grant of the insignia of the Máhí-murátib, Naubat-khána, and Roshan-chaukí This is the same Bení Bahádur who, in the contests with the English, acted very treacherously, and combined with them The Nawáb, after he was established in his kingdom, deprived him of sight "I do not expect that you, who have sown barley, will reap wheat at harvest"

In short, from such conduct as has been before mentioned, the Nawáb was very angry with Rája Mahá Naráin, and kept him for some time under surveillance He was at last set free through the intercession of the great and most respected mother of Nawáb Wazíru-l Mamalik Shujá'u-d daula The most extraordinary part of it was this, that during all the time Rája Mahá Naráin suffered this severe treatment, the Nawáb never gave any annoyance to his father, Rája Rám Naráin, or his uncle, Rája Partáp Naráin, who were both living

When, in 1186 A H (1772 A.D), the province of Kanauj, and the country up to the boundary of Anupshahr, was wrested from the possession of the Dakhinís by the Nawáb, Rája Mahá Naráin was appointed governor of it At the same time, Rái Gurdás Singh, the author's father, according to the Nawáb's orders, having resigned his office as deputy in the district of Kora, under Mirzá Haidar Beg Khán, was employed in the settlement of the new acquisition. During the time that he was so employed, Mukhtáru-d daula, being disgusted with Rája Mahá Naráin, obtained Nawáb Ásafu-d daula's orders to confiscate his *jagir*

Mahárája Nuwul Rái.

He was a Suksaina Káyath by caste, and an inhabitant of the district of Etáwa In the commencement of his career he served Nawáb Burhánu-l Mulk as a writer, but Nawáb Safdar Jang gave him the title of Rája, and appointed him his deputy and commander-in-chief, in which capacity he punished the insurgents of the province severely Although the Nawáb Wazír resided at Dehlí for several years, yet, through the good management of the Mahárája, no disturbance ever arose in the country under his rule. At the time when Muhammad Sháh Bádsháh went against 'Alí Muhammad Khán, and besieged the fort of Bangash, he could not take it, though it was made only of mud, and he was accompanied by all the nobles of his Court But when, according to the orders of the Nawáb Wazír, the Mahárája reached the place, he demolished the wall of the fort in one day with the fire of his heavy artillery, and having enhanced his reputation, was received with distinction by his master. It has been above mentioned that Mahárája Nuwul Rái was slain after a bold resistance in the battle with Ahmad Khán Bangash

Rája Khushhal Rái

Rája Khushhál Rái was the son of Mahárája Nuwul Rái Although he obtained no distinguished employment under Nawáb Wazír Shujá'u-d daula, yet Nawáb A'safu-d daula, in consideration of the services of his ancestors, raised him to the office of Paymaster, and gave him charge of Alláhábád He lived till his death in a state of affluence and comfort

Nawáb A'safu-d daula and the Rohillas.

Faizu-lláh Khán Rohilla, whom Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula, at the conquest of Bareilly, had placed in possession of the districts of Rámpúr and other *maháls* yielding a revenue of thirteen *lacs* of rupees, maintained as long as he lived great dignity and

pomp, and having taken great pains to improve his country, he realized double the amount of revenue from it.

Muhammad 'Alí Khán, his eldest son, sat upon the *masnad* with the sanction of Nawáb Ásafu-d daula But Najjú Khán, 'Umar Khán, and his son Sarbuland Khán, together with other Rohilla chiefs, attempted to remove Muhammad 'Alí Khán and instigated his younger brother, Ghulám Muhammad Khán, to usurp the *masnad* Muhammad 'Alí Khán was an intimate friend of Nawáb Ásafu-d daula, and had received from him much kindness, so the Nawáb wrote to Ghulám Muhammad Khán to the effect that it was of no great consequence that he had usurped the *masnad*, but that, as he had taken Muhammad 'Alí Khán prisoner, he should send him to Lucknow, where some employment might be given to him, which would induce him to abstain from annoying the usurper Ghulám Muhammad Khán, apprehensive that Muhammad 'Alí Khán's departure would occasion some disturbance, with the advice of Najjú Khán and 'Umar Khán, put him to death in prison

The Nawáb, thirsting for the blood of Ghulám Muhammad Khán, marched from Lucknow with a powerful army of his own, aided by his English allies. Ghulám Muhammad, having collected eighty thousand Rohillas and Afghans, raised the standard of revolt, and advanced from Rámpúr with the intention of plundering the city of Bareilly, which belonged to the Nawáb In those days Ráí Gurdás Singh had charge of Bareilly in conjunction with Sambhu Náth Depending upon the good fortune of the Nawáb, he prepared to defend the city, and the Afghans were not able to plunder it Before the arrival of the Nawáb, the army of the English had reached Bareilly, and Ghulám Muhammad, who had encamped at five *kos* from the city, made a vigorous attack on the English battalions, and fought most desperately But the English, who in battle are very Rustams and Isfandiyárs, made a good stand, and having confounded the Afghans with the shot of their guns, gave them a complete defeat Najjú Khán and Sarbuland Khán were slain, and Ghulám Mu-

hammad Khán fled towards the forests under the Kumáún hills. The compiler of this book was with his father in this battle.

The victorious army encamped for two months near the forest to chastise the Rohillas, and Ghulám Muhammad was obliged to surrender. With the advice of the English he was sent prisoner to Calcutta It is said that he obtained leave to go to Mecca; but where he went to afterwards is not known. In short, Nawáb Ásafu-d daula, proceeding through Rámpúr, entered the city of Bareilly in triumph He gave some *mahals* of the district of Rámpúr, the revenue of which amounted to about ten *lacs* of rupees, as *jagírs* to the other sons and descendants of Faizu-llah Khán, the rest of the territory he confiscated, and then returned to Lucknow

At the present time Bareilly and other places have been ceded to the English, and although the *jagirs* of the descendants of Faizu-llah Khán are still maintained, yet the English keep their eyes upon this tribe of Afgháns, and in their wisdom deal with them with great circumspection and prudence, as is essential in politics

Contests between the English and Ranjít Singh Jat.

The impetuous army of the English had the greatest difficulty in taking the fort of Díg belonging to Ranjít Singh, and then laid siege to that of Bhartpúr Jaswant Ráo Holkar ventured to plunder the country round the English army, and sent an officer of his, by name Amír Khán, with a body of twenty thousand horse, towards Hardwár. Amír Khán crossed the Ganges, and pillaged the country up to Murádábád and Sambhal The English officers at Bareilly, with the little force they had with them, prepared to repel him Some of the Afghán officers who had accompanied Amír Khán made a conspiracy against him. As he could not stand his ground, he fled, and having joined the camp of Jaswant Ráo Holkar at Bhartpúr, a great part of his army dispersed

War raged for seven months between the English on one

part and Rája Ranjít Singh and Jaswant Ráo Holkar on the other, and more than fifteen thousand men were killed on both sides The daily conflicts before Bhartpúr form a narrative which is worth hearing, and on both sides such courage was shown as threw the chivalric stories of the ancients into oblivion. "Such battles nobody had seen in the world, nor the wisest men of the whole earth had heard of"

At last the English, according to the orders of their Governor General at Calcutta, pardoned Ranjít Singh for his faults, and gave him back the fort of Díg They spent the rainy season at Mathurá Jaswant Singh Holkar fled to Láhore, and sought an asylum with Ranjít Singh, its ruler.

In 1220 A.H (1805 A D), the brave General, Lord Lake, marched towards Láhore, and having forded the Sutlej, pitched his tents on this side of the Biyáh, twenty *kos* east of Láhore. Great alarm spread among the people of the Panjáb Without delay the Sikh chiefs around Láhore, in order to save their lives and property, joined the English army, and were received with favour Consequently, Ranjít Singh, the ruler of Láhore, sent a mission of experienced men to express his submission, and ascertain the pleasure of the British Government. Through great humility and flattery, which politicians are enjoined to observe, he retained possession of his dominions Moreover, it was through his mediation that peace was concluded between the English and Jaswant Ráo Holkar

The British Government granted some districts of the Dakhin, etc , part of Hindústán, to Jaswant Ráo, and relieved the world from ravage and oppression They also allotted some districts of the Dakhin and Málwá, and a portion of Hindústán, together with the fort of Gwálior, to Mahárája Daulat Ráo Sindhia, and for a long time secured the people from unjust demands At present, the city of Akbarábád, together with some districts of the province of Dehlí, and the whole territory of Bundelkhand, is in their possession. The chiefs also of the Panjáb and of the country bordering on the hills acknowledge submission to this

powerful body. The administration of the British Government differs in no respect from that of the great Nawáb Wazír, who is endowed with the grandeur of the Pleiades.

CXXXIV

MA'DANU-S SA'ÁDAT

OF

SAIYID SULTÁN 'ALÍ

[THE author gives in his Preface his name and paternity as Saiyid Sultán 'Alí ul Husainí ul Musawí us Safaví, and states that he was a native of Ardabíl, in Ázarbáíján, from whence he travelled eastward, and took up his "abode under the auspicious asylum of Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula" at Lucknow In the second year of the reign of Sa'ádat 'Alí, in 1213 A H (1798 A D), he determined to write the history of India from the times of Tímúr to the death of the Emperor Muhammad Sháh. He enumerates the authorities he has consulted *Zafar-náma, Waki'at-i Bábari, Tarikh-i Alfi, Firishta, 'A'lam-árái 'Abbasi, Akbar-náma* of Abú-l Fazl, *Ma'dan-i Akhbar-i Ahmadi, Ikbál-náma, Tarikh o Sair-i Jahangíri, Tabakat-i Akbari*, the work of Khwája Atábak Kazwíní and others. The latter part of the work is particularly occupied with the affairs of the Nawábs of Oudh, and comes down to the seventh year of the reign of Sa'ádat Alí, 1805 A.D

Sir H M Elliot did not obtain a copy of this work, but the above notice has been drawn from a translation of the Preface and Table of Contents which is among his papers.]

CXXXV.

MAJMA'U-L AKHBA'R

OF

HARSUKH RA'Í.

This compilation is the work of Harsukh Rái, son of Jíwan Dás, son of Rái Basant Rám, a Sahkal Khatrí

Rái Basant Rám was Governor of A'gra for many years, from the time that province was made over to Mahárája Jai Singh Sawái by Muhammad Sháh, down to the decline of the Ját power. During this long interval of time, he is said, by his grandson, to have acquitted himself with great credit in the estimation of all men The author's great-grandfather, Dyá Rám, was *díwán* to Mubárizu-l Mulk Nawáb Sarbuland Khán While he praises his own studious disposition, he censures the idleness of his contemporaries He observes that most people of his time, whether from their slothful nature, or on account of their numerous worldly avocations, are averse to reading long and elaborate works of the great writers and historians, who in a style of correctness, and even of eloquence, have very beautifully written with their golden pens, and, by the aid of their wit and ability, given accounts of monarchs of past ages, that as the science of history is the means of gathering knowledge for wise men, and affords examples to intelligent observers, that as every narration respecting those who have flourished before our time is a precept which improves the understanding of sensible men, and every fact of former time is a precedent which increases the knowledge of inquiring persons; and that as the study of this science is very beneficial to kings and rulers, and also opens

the eyes of the common people, by affording information in all respects useful to them, it had therefore been for a long time the ardent desire of this gleaner of crumbs from the table of liberal persons to compile a book in a very simple, intelligible, and concise style, which might form a collection of historical subjects and a depository of facts, embracing an account of the great Rájas and powerful Kings of the extensive country of Hindústán, some short sketches of the Princes of Persia from the Kaiánian, Sássánian and other dynasties, who raised the standard of sovereignty on the surface of the earth before the promulgation of the Muhammadan religion, an account of the creation of Adam, a history of the Prophets, great Saints, the rising of the sun of the true religion, memoirs of the great Prophet, the benefactor of mankind, his holy companions, sacred Imáms, philosophers, pious men and the Muhammadan Kings who ruled over the countries of Írán, Túrán, and Hindústán, and who, having caused the *khutba* to be read and money coined in the name of Islám, erected the standard of power and prosperity in the four quarters of the world, a detail of the several climates, the celebrated cities, their rarities and wonders, the governors of the famous countries of the world, an account of the Europeans, the New World which was conquered by these wise people, a short detail of each tribe with its religion, commencing from the creation of the world Such was the work he undertook to compile from abstracts taken from credible works and authentic narrations, with a view that the hearers and readers of it might, with a little attention, obtain acquaintance with the history of the world. This object he was not able to accomplish, until he met with a patron in the person of Rái Srí Naráin, his maternal uncle, on whom a ridiculous and fulsome eulogium follows, extending through two pages, which it is needless to repeat

The author tells us that his work was compiled in the 1214th year of the Hijra era, or forty-second of Sháh 'Álam, and the chronogram in the Preface, which is formed by combining

Majma'u-l Akhbár with another word, gives also 1214 A.H. (1799 A D); but as he carries down the history to the 1220th year of the Hijra (1805 A.D.), or the forty-eighth of Sháh 'Álam, as appears from one of the translated Extracts which follow, it is probable that an incorrect date has been assumed, in order to make it accord with the title of the work Though the work is a mere compilation, it is useful in many respects, and is well written. It is divided into eight books (*akhbár*), and several chapters (*khabr*), of which a full detail is given below

The *Majma'u-l Akhbar* is not uncommon I know five or six copies, of which the best is in the possession of Nawáb Mián Faujdár Khán, of Bhopál, through whose kindness I obtained the copy in my possession

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[The following Extracts were apparently translated by *munshis*, and received revision from Sir H. M Elliot]

EXTRACTS.

The Jats of Bhartpúr.

Among the former chiefs of the tribe of Játs, Bajjá Ját was pre-eminent. He was a *zamindar* of *mauza* Sansaní, a village situated between Díg and Kumbher He had in attendance on him a body of nearly one hundred horse, consisting of his relations. The strong fort of Thún was the place of his residence He led a predatory life, and displayed great courage in every excursion He died, leaving behind him three sons, named Chúráman, Badan Singh, and Rája Rám

The first-named son succeeded him in the chiefship of the tribe, and as his good fortune proved like waters richly fertilizing the field of his successful career in life, he, on the occurrence of the tumult which followed closely on the death of Aurangzeb, revolted, and thus laid the foundation of his fortune Muhammad Farrukh Siyar, on ascending the throne, despatched Rája Jai Singh Sawái with an overpowering force to chastise Chúráman, and as the Rája, after a siege of one year's duration, succeeded in reducing Chúráman to the last extremity, the latter had sagacity enough to sow the seeds of prudence in the field of good fortune By entering into a league with Saiyid Husain 'Alí Khán Bárha, who was in charge of the entire administration of the affairs of

the State, and jealous of the power of Rája Jai Singh, he rescued the store of his treasure and greatness from the shock of misfortune, which was likely to prove as severe as that of lightning Rája Jai Singh was obliged to raise the siege of the fort of Thún, and return with malicious feeling engendered in him by the defeat of his object[1] This circumstance made Chúráman so arrogant, that the plant of his independent spirit grew up and touched the very heavens At the time when Husain 'Alí Khán fought with the army of Muhammad Sháh, Chúráman was so presumptuous that he repeatedly fell on the camp of the Emperor, and engaged in plunder He thus continued to incur public odium, till the fourth year of the reign of Muhammad Sháh, when Rája Jai Singh and other *amírs* of note were despatched with an effective force to reduce the fort of Thún, and exterminate him They employed their utmost exertions to effect the purpose, and as the earthly career of Chúráman was at an end, his brother, Badan Singh, leagued with Rája Jai Singh, gave him all the information that might tend to the ruin of Chúráman, and thereby enabled the Rája to open the gate of the strong fort Chúráman, on seeing his affairs desperate, burnt himself in the magazine of the fort Rája Jai Singh levelled the fort to the ground, and caused it to be ploughed up by a yoke of asses

Rája Badan Singh, through the interest of Rája Jai Singh, became the successor of Chúráman, whose son, Muhkam Singh, forfeited the succession in consequence of his father's offence Badan Singh, on obtaining the chiefship, built the forts of Bhartpúr and Waira. The fort of Bhartpúr was made very strong, if not impregnable The ditch round it is so deep that even the imagination cannot pass one half of its depth. Its rampart is so wide that it can admit of the passage of several carriages at a time Besides this, it is surrounded by forests.

It is said that Badan Singh was in the habit of swallowing every day quicksilver of the weight of a *pice* He had hundreds

[1] [See *supra*, Vol VII pp 514, 532]

of concubines and twenty sons. On feeling his sight defective in his latter days, and finding amongst his sons Súraj Mal to be the most sagacious and wise, he placed the reins of government in his hands, and retired from the cares of State to pass the remainder of his life in seclusion and peace, which he enjoyed up to the year 1174 A H. (1760–1 A D), when he died It is said of him that, in consequence of his numerous descendants, he used to inquire always, when any one of them came into his presence, as to who the person was

Súraj Mal, who, during the lifetime of his father, was entrusted with the entire administration of the affairs of the State, strongly fortified the posts of Kumbher and Díg, and on his father's death, when he attained absolute power, he employed his exertions for the extension of his territory The declining state of the Empire of Dehlí afforded him the means of making encroachments on the royal territories In the reign of Ahmad Sháh, he was on friendly terms with Wazíru-l Mamálik Safdar Jang, and thereby placed his affairs on a firm basis He afforded every aid and countenance to the schemes of Safdar Jang In the year 1164 A H (1750-1 A D), when Safdar Jang directed a second time his army against Ahmad Khán Bangash, Súraj Mal acted in co-operation with him, at the head of an effective force The war terminating in favour of Safdar Jang, Súraj Mal obtained possession of the province of Ágra, and became the master of the whole territories of Mewát, and a tract of land as far as the neighbourhood of Dehlí, yielding more than two *krors* of rupees. This extension of his territories exalted his dignity to the very heavens, and contributed to augment the strength of his force to nearly one hundred thousand horse and foot His subjects were in the enjoyment of all the blessings of a good government In the year 1170 A H (1756-7 A D), when Ahmad Sháh Abdálí was on his march to Hindústán, most of the inhabitants of Dehlí, both high and low, took shelter in the territories of Súraj Mal, who extended his protection towards them, and treated them all with the respect due to their respective ranks

Jahán Khán, the Commander-in-Chief of the army of the Abdálí, moved at the head of an overwhelming force to capture the fort of Kumbher, and Súraj Mal proceeded in an undaunted spirit to resist him In the year 1173 A H. (1759-60 A D) Ghāzíu-d dín Khán Wazír, being dismayed by the approach of Ahmad Sháh Abdálí to Hindústán against the Mahrattas with whom he had entered into a league, took refuge with Súraj Mal, who received him courteously, and protected him for a time in his adversity In this year, also, Súraj Mal took possession of the fort of Akbarábád from the Emperor of Dehlí.

When the legitimate son of 'Álamgír the Second ascended the throne of his father in the East, under the title of Sháh 'Álam, and Najíbu-d daula Rohilla assumed the management of the affairs of State, and appointed Jawán Bakht, the eldest son of Sháh 'Álam, as the heir apparent, Súraj Mal felt an ardent desire for the possession of Dehlí, and with this object he marched early in the year 1178 A.H (1764 A D) with a considerable force against that place in the spirit of predominant pride Najíbu-d daula, dreading the prowess and strength of Súraj Mal, entreated him in abject terms to make peace; but Súraj Mal refused, and prepared himself for action After both armies were drawn up in battle array, Súraj Mal, with a small force, unfortunately advanced too far beyond his army to examine one of his batteries, and while standing between it and that of his enemy, a party which, after having been plundered by Súraj Mal's army, were returning to their camp, on recognizing him, made an attack on him and put him to death This event brought on, in the twinkling of an eye, the discomfiture and dispersion of the immense force of Súraj Mal without a fight A circumstance so unexpected can be ascribed to nothing else but to the decree of Providence, and victory, which is in its gift, fell to the lot of Najíbu-d daula

Súraj Mal, however, had several sons, among whom Jawáhir Singh, the most sagacious, succeeded him To avenge the death of his father, Jawáhir Singh marched with a considerable force against

Najíbu-d daula, accompanied by Malhár Ráo Mahratta and a body of the Panjáb Sikhs. Najíbu-d daula, taking shelter in the fort of Dehlí, applied himself to strengthen the bastions and gates of the fort and city. Jawáhir Singh encamped round the tank of Kishan Dás, ten miles distant from Dehlí, and laid siege to the city Cannonading and musketry continued for four months, when the report of the arrival of the Abdálí troops disposed Najíbu-d daula to purchase peace, and he offered concessions to the Mahrattas The peace was concluded through the interposition of Malhár Ráo, and both parties remained in their independent positions

Late in the year 1179 A.H (1766 A D) Raghú Mahratta came from the Dakhin, besieged Gohad, and demanded tribute from Jawáhir Singh, which obliged the latter to depute to him, for the purpose of negociating peace, Gosain Himmat Bahádur and his brother Amráo Gír, who had formerly, on the defeat of Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula by the English, left the Nawáb's service, and entered that of Jawáhir Singh They now, from avaricious motives, excited by the bribes offered them by the Mahrattas, deviated from rectitude, and promised Raghú to betray Jawáhir Singh into his hands Jawáhir Singh, on learning of this treachery, despatched a portion of his army in which he could place confidence, with instructions to fall on them unawares, with a view to bring them to their senses The two brothers, seeing the arrival of the troops in a hostile spirit against them, gave up all for lost, and took to flight with some of their immediate attendants Their equipage and baggage were all carried off as plunder.

In short, Rája Jawáhir Singh became master of most of the neighbouring territories But in consequence of his having attained such glory and power, his pride was heightened into vanity, and his mind exalted with the imagination of extending his conquests far and wide In the year 1182 A H (1768 A D) he called on Rája Mádhú Singh, son of Rája Jai Singh Sawáí, to surrender the *parganas* in the neighbourhood of Bhartpúr.[1] But

[1] [See *supra*, p 225]

as Rája Mádhú Singh did not attend to his call, Jawáhir Singh quarrelled with him, and fitted out a large expedition Under pretence of performing ablution in the lake near Ajmír, he marched in that direction Mádhú Singh, however, being aware of his hostile intentions, placed a select body of his troops under the command of Harsahái Khatrí, a confidential dependent, with instructions to oppose Jawáhir, who was prepared to take the field without any provocation. This Rájpút force met Jawáhir Singh in the neighbourhood of Jainagar while on his way back from the lake. An obstinate battle took place, and the gallant charges made by both parties occasioned numbers of slain

In consequence of the bold and vigorous attacks of the valiant Rájpúts, Rája Jawáhir Singh's troops could not stand their ground Rája Harsahái, Gunsahái (his brother-in-law), and most of the brave Rájpúts displayed their valour, but fell at last on the field of battle Confidence and courage failed Jawáhir Singh With a dejected heart he retreated towards Bhartpúr, and became, in consequence of his ineffectual encroachment and disgraceful return, the subject of public ridicule. He at last glutted his vengeance by wresting the territory of Kámún from Rája Mádhú Singh He then proceeded from Bhartpúr to Ágra, where a villain, whose name is not known, put him to death while engaged in viewing an elephant-fight.

Jawáhir Singh's brother, Ratan Singh (another son of Súraj Mal), succeeded him This Prince remained constantly in a state of intoxication, and wasted his precious moments in pleasure and indolence A few days after his accession, he felt seriously disposed to gain a knowledge of alchemy, and with this view made over a large quantity of gold to a *darwesh* of the name of Rúpánand, who had given out that he was a very skilful alchemist This individual, however, appropriated the gold to his own use, amusing Ratan Singh with evasive stories When subterfuges on his part exceeded their reasonable bounds, Ratan Singh threatened him with punishment; and the impostor, being apprehensive of the loss of his honour, if not his life, con-

ducted him unattended by any servants to his own place, under pretence of showing him the alchemical discoveries made by him. On his arrival there, he put Ratan Singh to death by stabbing him with a knife. This event coming to the knowledge of the adherents of Ratan Singh, they immediately killed the *darwesh*. Ratan Singh ruled only nine months.

On his death, Kherí Singh, his son, only five years of age, was installed by the ministers of the State, and Nuwul Singh, son of Súraj Mal, was appointed regent, but one month afterwards, when Kherí Singh died, Nuwul Singh became independent, and placed himself on the *gaddí*

This Prince, being desirous of extending his territories, wrested, in the year 1196 A H (1774 A D), the fort of Balamgarh from Ajít Singh, son of Bagú Ját He also overcame the Imperial force which had been ordered to give support to Ajít Singh, and he became master of Sikandrá and several other places belonging to the crown These conquests made him assume an air of haughtiness, until Najaf Khán,[1] by command of His Majesty Sháh 'Álam, hoisted the banner of bravery for his expulsion, and succeeded in wresting from him the possession of Farídábád. He waged war with Nuwul Singh in the neighbourhood of Hadal and Barsáná He was so fortunate that, notwithstanding a forest being situated to his disadvantage, he gained a complete victory over Nuwul Singh, who being thus doomed to sustain a defeat, fortified himself in the fort of Díg Najaf Khán, in a short time and with little opposition, effected the restoration of all the usurped territories which were in possession of Nuwul Singh, even to the very walls of Akbarábád, and afterwards marched to besiege the fort of Díg When the fort had been in a state of siege for two years, Nuwul Singh died.

Ranjít Singh, son of Súraj Mal, who was then at Bhartpúr, on hearing of his brother's death, hastened to Díg, applied himself to strengthening the gates and bastions of the fort, and animated the courage of the besieged. He killed Mullá Ahmad Khán

[1] [See *suprá*, p 227]

Rohilla, who had been employed by Nuwul Singh to protect the fort, but on Nuwul Singh's death aspired to the possession of it himself It is through the exertions of Ranjít Singh, that the besieged held out for eleven months more, when, on the failure of supplies, Ranjít Singh. seeing the desperate state of his affairs, surrendered. A few days afterwards, Najaf Khán captured the fort of Kumbher; but the forts of Bhartpúr and Waira, with some other places, remained in the possession of Ranjít Singh.

After the death of Najaf Khán, when the Mahrattas obtained a footing in his territories, Ranjít Singh professed subjection to Sindhia Patel, the commander-in-chief of the Mahratta force. Sindhia, being pleased with him, committed to his charge, on the occasion of the march of his army in the direction of Jainagar, the forts of Díg and Kumbher, which Najaf Khán had annexed to his own territories

When, in the year 1218 A H (1803 A D), the British overcame the Mahrattas, and took possession of their territories, Ranjít Singh was prudent enough to acknowledge ostensibly the supremacy of the British, but in the following year, on the occasion of the march of the united force of the Mahratta chiefs, Daulat Ráo Sindhia and Jaswant Ráo Holkar, against the British, he joined the Mahrattas, in gratitude for their former good will and regard for him. When, in the latter part of the year, the British, after reducing, through the wisdom of their policy and sagacity, the strong forts of Díg and Kishangarh, gallantly determined to take the fort of Bhartpúr, he with a valiant body of Játs marched boldly to resist them

It is said that these Játs, in spite of the superior strength of the British, fell upon them regardless of life as moths of fire, committed great slaughter, and thus displayed their valour to the admiration of all who witnessed or heard of the fact. But when the rulers of Bengal and Bihár, the potentates of the Dakhin such as Haidar and Típú Sultán, the Mahrattas and others equal to Rustam and Isfandiyár, have been worsted by the British army, what could be expected from that poor and

helpless body? Their fight with the English is just as that of a musquito with an elephant, or of a moth with fire, a parrot with a hawk, or a goat with a lion! Indeed, these Englishmen emulate the great heroes who figure in ancient history

The Mahratta chiefs were presumptuous enough to continue opposing and harassing the English, until such time as the most exalted General Lake, by his prudent strokes of policy, and every sort of kindness and regard, gained over Ranjít Singh to espouse the interests of the British He restored to Ranjít Singh the forts of Dig and Kishangarh, and then made preparations for the expulsion of the Mahrattas Ranjít Singh enjoyed a high name in every direction of the world by his attachment to the English He died in the latter part of the year 1220 A H (1806 A D), leaving his name immortal in the pages of history

The English Company

The Company, or the English merchants, sent their agents in ships laden with the productions of Europe for sale, and also with money in cash to purchase goods in Hindústán. They commenced their business in this country in the time of the Emperor Núru-d dín Jahángír, and obtained from him several houses for the residence of their agents in the port of Surat. Afterwards, by the Emperor's orders, they took several places from the Portuguese Gradually they established their factories in Bombay, Madras, and other maritime places in Hindústán.

In the reign of Muhammad Aurangzeb 'Álamgír, they obtained permission to build a factory in Bengal, and thus they laid the foundation of the city of Calcutta As long as the rulers of India did not molest them, the agents of the Company paid taxes into the royal treasury, like other merchants, but when they were oppressed by Chandá Sáhib, governor of Arcot, and Sirája-d daula, grandson of Mahábat Jang 'Alíwardí Khán, ruler of Bengal, they submitted their complaints to their King, and being reinforced by a royal army, they took possession of

Arcot and Calcutta By degrees they established their dominion in Bengal and Bihár. By the assistance of Almighty God, and their good fortune, and through the aid of their armies, they achieved, as has been before mentioned in this brief narrative, repeated victories over Shujá'u-d daula, and with great magnanimity and generosity restored the country to him which they had conquered But as a measure of precaution, they placed a division of the English army on the frontier of his possessions, the pay of which was to be paid by him, and an intelligent and wise English officer was also appointed to remain with him

After his death, the English received the districts of Benares, Jaunpúr, Gházípúr, and Chunár, from A'safu-d daula, in consideration of his being confirmed in the *masnad*, and these places were annexed to the Company's possessions. When A'safu-d daula expired, after the quelling of the disturbances raised by Wazír 'Alí Khán, and the accession of Nawáb Sa'ádat 'Alí Khán to the *masnad*, one-half of the Oudh territory was ceded to the Company

In the end of the year 1217 A H (1802 A D), Mádhú Ráo left this perishable world, and Bají Ráo, son of Raghunáth Ráo, succeeded him Having been defeated by Jaswant Ráo Holkar, in consequence of his minister's defection, he requested assistance from the Lord Marquis, the Governor-General, who sent his brother, General Wellesley, at the head of a formidable army for his succour Having thus recovered the government of Púna, he was again established firmly upon the *masnad* Daulat Ráo Sindhia, Jaswant Ráo Holkar, and Raghújí Ghoslá,[1] the Mahratta chiefs, having combined together, prepared to fight with the English army The Governor-General, seeing them hostilely disposed, ordered General Wellesley and other officers at different stations, in 1803 A D, corresponding with 1218 A H, to extinguish the fire of their opposition, and wrest from them the forts and the cities which they had conquered He also sent large supplies of treasure in all directions, and, as has been men-

[1] [Usually "Bhosla" or "Bhonsla," but see *supra*, Vol VII p 255]

tioned in this work in the history of the Mahrattas, the English forces were everywhere victorious, and all the territory and forts of these rebels fell into the hands of the British warriors. Daulat Ráo, Raghújí Ghoslá, and other chiefs sued for peace, which they obtained, and enjoyed tranquillity and ease According to the Governor-General's orders, some of the conquered cities and forts were restored to them Jaswant Ráo Holkar, however, continued still to be refractory, and having left the Dakhin, he now kindled the fire of rebellion in Hindústán.

In those days also Ranjít Singh Ját revolted, and began to betray insubordination and insolence Many English were slain in fighting with him, and on all sides round their camp the forces of Jaswant Ráo commenced plundering General Lake with great valour and prudence did not move his foot from the field of firmness and perseverance, and with great kindness and favour having restored the forts of Díg, Kishangarh, etc, to Ranjít Singh, and made an alliance with him, directed his whole efforts to the expulsion of Jaswant Ráo, who, in his extreme prudence, always took care to keep himself at a distance from the English artillery, and fought after the Mahratta fashion He proceeded to the territory of the Panjáb, where the brave General also boldly pursued him to the environs of Láhore.

In the mean time, the Governor-General, the Lord Marquis, having been removed from his office, returned home, and the honourable, the great and noble Lord Cornwallis, the new Governor-General, the praise of whose excellent character and good conduct is beyond the extent of imagination, and in whose time and by whose sagacity and wisdom the conquest over Típú Sultán was achieved, came from the east towards the western part of the country with the intention of quelling the disturbances and tumults which the Mahrattas had raised. But on the 5th of the month of Rajab, 1220 A H, corresponding with the 10th of October, 1805 A D., he died of some disease in the vicinity of Gházípúr, and all the English officers, as well as other people of all ranks, were much overwhelmed by sorrow at his death.

General Lake, according to the orders of the Government, purchased peace from Jaswant Ráo Holkar, at the expense of some treasure and the restoration of the conquered territory to him, which belonged to the Rájpútána states; after this, the General returned from the territory of the Panjáb to Dehlí

In these days, the end of the year 1220 A H, and the close of the forty-eighth year of Sháh 'Álam Bádsháh's reign (may his dominion and sovereignty be prolonged to eternity!) Mahárája Holkar came from the Panjáb to Rájpútána, and there having raised the standard of triumph and success, established his rule, and is now engaged in exacting contributions from the Rájas and Ráís of that territory. The English retained the districts of Dehlí and Ágra in their own possession. General Lake triumphantly proceeded from the capital to the eastern part of the country, and Mr. Barlow having been appointed to officiate in place of the Governor-General, took the management of the Government affairs into his hands

In short, all the chiefs and proud rulers of Hindústán, whose heads touched the heavens, and who from their dignity and pomp claimed equality with Saturn, now having considered their safety to lie in repentance and obedience, could not raise their heads from their knees out of respect to this powerful people, and all the rebellious and turbulent characters who always scratched the head of pride and vanity with the nails of tumult and quarrel, put the cap of their obstinacy upon the ground of submission, and did not place their foot beyond the bounds of respect to this body of wise men, who, from their great humanity and liberality, have subdued every one of their enemies Whoever sought their protection was much honoured, respected, and treated with great kindness, and they fixed an allowance for his maintenance Notwithstanding that the English are few in number, yet, by their prudent measures and superior wisdom and understanding, they have introduced such management into the countries conquered by them as never was known in the days of any

ancient rulers, although they possessed much greater power and more numerous armies.

For the comfort of their subjects and tranquillity of all the people they have established courts in all their cities and towns, so that, in fact, in apprehension of their equity and justice, the wolf and the lion live in the same den with the goat and the deer; and the wagtail and sparrow sit in the same nest with the falcon and hawk The powerful fly before the weak, and robbers and highwaymen show the way to benighted travellers. All enjoy rest under their protection, and all are comforted by their justice. If a brief account of the rules and regulations which are made by these great people for the administration of justice were given, it would much lengthen this work. The judges, at the time of hearing complaints, look on all, poor and rich, respectable and mean, with an impartial eye, and punish them according to the law, in proportion to the atrocity of their deeds, so that others may take warning from them, and avoid to commit crime May Almighty God preserve the shadow of their favour and kindness over the heads of all people, as long as the world exists!

CXXXVI

KÁSHIFU-L AKHBÁR

OF

'INÁYAT HUSAIN.

This "Revealer of News" was composed by 'Ináyat Husain of Mahrard for the instruction of his son, Imdád Husain, and the edification of some of his friends, and occupied him nine years There is nothing whatever in it to warrant so much waste of time, for the historical portion is a mere transcript from his predecessors

without a word of novelty. The geographical chapter is most useful, though even in that there is little not to be found in the *Hadíkatu-l Akálím* 'Ináyat Husain does not himself mention his authorities, but the transcriber of the copy I have used adds in a postscript the monstrous assertion that the author has consulted no less than four hundred and eighty-four works in the course of his compilation This information he professes to have derived from the author himself.

The exact year of completion is not mentioned, but as notice is taken of the death of Sháh 'Álam, and the accession of Akbar II, the work must have been completed subsequent to 1220 A H (1805 A D) The *Kashifu-l Akhbár* is not divided into books and chapters, but the most prominent divisions and subjects are the following Some miscellaneous matters, such as a "history of inventions," are necessarily omitted in this abstract of contents

CONTENTS

Preface, p 1, Creation, Jinns, Prophets, Muhammad, Grecian Philosophers, Eastern Poets, p 2, Versification, Composition, Astronomy, and Physical Geography, p 101, The four Persian Dynasties and early Arabs, p 119, 'Ummayides, 'Abbásides, and the Dynasties which arose in their time, p 141, Changíz Khán, and the Mughal Dynasties, Saffavís, p 172, Kings of Hindústán, Hindús, Ghaznívides, Ghorians, Khiljís, etc, to Akbar II, p 201; Sikhs, Mahrattas and English, p 314 Kings of the Dakhin, Gujarát, Málwá, Bengal, Jaunpúr, Multán, Sind, and Kashmír, p 322, Descriptive account of the Súbas of Hindústán, p 381, Conclusion, p 423

SIZE—Folio, 425 pages, each containing 25 lines

There is nothing in the volume worth translation in this place

I know of only one copy of the *Kashifu-l Akhbár*, which was transcribed in 1263 A.H (1847 A D) for Nawáb Daula Saiyid Muhammad 'Alí Khán Bahádur, by Muhammad 'Arfán 'Alí of Bareilly. It is clean and correct

CXXXVII

ZUBDATU-L AKHBÁR

OF

UMRÁO SINGH.

THIS work is an abridgment of the *Khulásatu-t Tawáríkh,* by Umráo Singh, of Benares, continued down to the accession of Muhammad Akbar II, or rather to the appointment of Sir E Colebrooke as one of the Commissioners of the "Ceded and Conquered Provinces," an era of importance to the author, as he seems to have been employed by the British Government in the Revenue Department The work opens in a manner which would lead us to suppose it the production of a Musulmán rather than a Hindú

The *Zubdatu-l Akhbár* is divided into seven Books, of which the first five are abstracted from the *Khulásatu-t Tawáríkh*, a portion of his labour which the author tells us occupied him fifteen days He also informs us that he was fond of studying history, and reading Arabic and Persian works, and was seldom engaged except in these agreeable occupations One day, after reading the *Khulásatu-t Tawáríkh*, it came into his head that he would abridge that work, because he found it tedious to peruse so long a history, which was comprised in 656 pages, each numbering 20 lines, and he wishes to save others the trouble he had experienced in turning over so many leaves

CONTENTS

Preface, p. 1 —Book I Description of Hindústán and the *subas* and *sarkars* dependent on Dehlí, with a statement of the revenues collected from each, p 4; II The Kauravas and Pándavas, p 29, III The Hindú Rájas from the time of Parichit, including an account of Bikramájít, p 45, IV The Muhammadan Sovereigns of Ghazní, Láhore, and Dehlí, including the Ghaznívides, Ghorians, Slave Kings, Khiljís, Saiyids

and Lodís, p. 77, V. The Tímúrian Dynasty from Bábar down to the close of Aurangzeb's reign, including an account of the Súr Afghán Dynasty, p 123; VI. From the reign of Bahádur Sháh to the death of Sháh 'Álam, including an account of Nádir Sháh, the Abdálís, Rohillas, Mahrattas, and English, p 233, VII Accession of Muhammad Akbar II, the capture of the forts of 'Alígarh, Kamona, etc, and the duration of reigns from Judhishthar to Sháh 'Álam, p 556

This work contains nothing in matter or manner worthy of translation

The only copy which I know of the *Zubdatu-l Akhbár* is in the possession of the *Sadr Bakhshí* of 'Alígarh. It contains 612 pages, with 16 lines to the page

CXXXVIII.

MUNTAKHAB-I KHULÁSATU-T TAWÁRÍKH

OF

RÁM PARSHÁD

This is not an abridgment of the *Khulásatu-t Tawáríkh*, as the name might lead us to suppose, but a brief abstract History of India, made without any reference to that work.

The *Muntakhab* has no Preface, and begins without any preliminary praises, but at the end, the copyist says that it was composed by a person named Rám Parshád It is of no use except to the merest beginner It is chiefly devoted to the Tímúrian Sovereigns—one page only being given to the period which preceded them The work ends with the accession of Akbar II., and contains 40 pages of 15 lines each, but some tables are added from the *Jám-i Jam* of Saiyid Ahmad Khán, by which the volume is expanded to 84 pages

The only copy I know of belongs to Nawáb 'Alí Muhammad Khán of Jhajjar.

CXXXIX

AKHBA'R-I MUHABBAT

OF

NAWA'B MUHABBAT KHA'N

A GENERAL History of India from the time of the Ghaznívides to the accession of Muhammad Akbar II, at the close of the year 1806

The author Nawáb Muhabbat Khán is not to be confounded with his contemporary and namesake, the second son of Háfiz Rahmat, favourably known as the author of *Riazu-l Muhabbat,* a grammar and dictionary of the Pushtú language, written in Persian. A manuscript of his work in the East India Library has been much quoted by Dr Bernhard Dorn, in his Annotations to the History of the Afghans The same writer is author also of the poem called *Asrar-i Muhabbat,* having called his two chief works, like the author to whom this article is devoted, after his own name—*Muhabbat* M Garcin de Tassy devotes an article to him in his *Histoire de la Littérature Hindoui et Hindoustani* [1]

The style of the author of the *Akhbar-i Muhabbat* is slovenly and inaccurate, as is often observable in works written in India by foreigners from Afghánistán He dwells with peculiar pleasure upon the deeds of his ancestors, and is very proud of a lineage, which he traces through Diler Khán, Daryá Khán, Saul, Abraham and Noah, up to Adam

The work is in too abridged a form to be of much use, except towards the end, where the author expands the narrative, giving an unusually minute account of the Durrání invasions, and some of

[1] Vol i p 355

the transactions of Sháh 'Álam's reign, to which he assigns only thirteen years, contrary to the usual mode of reckoning. Certain portions also of the reigns of Jahángír and his successors are enlarged upon, when he has the opportunity of recounting the exploits of Daryá Khán, Khán Jahán Lodí, Bahádur Khán, Diler Khán, and other heroes of the author's race and family

In his Preface he quotes several authorities, as *Akbar-náma* by Abú-l Fazl, an anonymous history of Shahábu-d dín Ghorí, an anonymous history of 'Aláu-d dín Khiljí, the *Táríkh-i Afaghana* by Husain Khán, the *Zafar-náma* by Sharafu-d dín, the *Timúr-náma* of Hátifí, Bábar's Memoirs, the *Táríkh-i Akbari* by 'Atá Beg Kazwíní, the *Kitab-i Akbar-Shahi* by Shaikh Illahdád Faizí, the *Tabakát-i Akbari* by Nizámu-d dín Ahmad, the *Ikbal-náma* of Mu'tamad Khán, the Autobiography of Jahángír, the *Tarikh-i Sháh-Jahani* by Wáris Khán, the *Tarikh-i 'A'lamgiri* by Muhammad Kázim, two works under the name of *Tarikh-i Bahádur-Sháhi*, the *Tárikh-i Muhammad-Shahi*, *Ahmad-Shahi*, *Shah' A'lam-Sháhi*, the *Tarikh-i Kashmiri* by Mauláná Sháhábádí, the *Mahá-bhárat*, *Rámayana*, *Vishnu Purána*, the *Bhágavata*, *Jog-bashisht*, *Singhasan Battisi*, *Padmawat*, the *Rajawali* of Bháo Rám, and *Rája Tarangini*

Most of these are of ordinary currency, and are often quoted in Prefaces without being read. The perusal, and even the existence of the anonymous works, may be doubted. He mentions also the history of Násiru-d dín and Mahmúd by 'Unsurí, and the *Tárikh-i Firoz-Sháhi* by 'Izzu-d dín, though why either should be quoted it is impossible to say, inasmuch as only two lines are devoted to Fíroz Sháh's reign, and only thirty pages to the entire Khiljí and Tughlik dynasties. In the Ghaznívide dynasty he follows the words and the defective arrangement of the *Khulasatu-t Tawárikh*, which he does not quote, ascribing, like that work, only seven reigns to the whole dynasty. This is another instance of the shameless fraud of which we have shown the author of the *Khulásat* himself to have been guilty.

He informs us that in the latter part of his history he benefited by the verbal information derived from his father, uncle, brothers, and other trustworthy persons He quotes also two new works, the *Daryá-i Dileri* and the *Risála-i Dileri*, which most probably relate to the achievements of his ancestors.

[There can be no doubt that he either used the *Tárikh-i Mandásila-i Futúh*, the *Tárikh-i Ibráhim Khán*, and the *Nigár-náma-i Hind*, or if he did not, that he and the authors of these works all copied from the same original authority]

CONTENTS.

The Preface, an account of the arrival of the author's ancestors in Hindústán, the Patriarchs, 'Alí, 'Abdu-l Kádir Jílání, Sálár Mas'úd, the twelve Imáms, the conquest of Bengal, Bikramájít, and other miscellaneous matters, p 1, The Ghaznívides, p 100; The Ghorides, Khiljís, etc, p 121, Bábar, p 150, Humáyún, p 160, Akbar, p 197; Jahángír, p 208; Sháh Jahán, p 240, Aurangzeb, p. 351, Bahádur Sháh, and an account of the *súbas*, p 420, Jahándár Sháh, Farrukh Siyar, etc, p 430, Muhammad Sháh, with accounts of the English, Játs, Nawábs of Oudh, Nádir Sháh, etc, p 487, Ahmad Sháh, p. 630, 'Álamgír II., p 699, Sháh 'Álam, p. 726, Muhammad Akbar, p 768.

Size—8vo, containing 782 pages, of 17 lines each

I have seen but one copy of this work, and that is in the possession of one of the descendants of the author

[The Extracts, translated by a *munshi*, were revised by Sir H M Elliot]

EXTRACTS

Foundation of the city of Calcutta by Mr Chanak (Job Charnock), chief of the English tribe

Calcutta formerly was only a village, the revenue of which was assigned for the expenses of the temple of Kálí Deví which stands there As in the Bengali language the words Karta and Kat mean the proprietor of that Kálí, in course of time, by the

elision of the *i*, it began to be called Calcutta[1] I now proceed to an account of the foundation of the city, and how the Honourable Company's factory was maintained at Gholghát[2] and Mughalpúra, near Húghlí Suddenly, at about sunset, when the English officers were at their dinner, a violent bore arose in the river, and fell with such force upon the shore that the factory was in danger of falling down. The officers ran out in great consternation and saved their lives All the goods and property were destroyed by the water, and a few men and several animals lost their lives Mr Chának, their chief, having purchased the Benárasí Bágh, which belonged to the Company's agent at Gholghát, near the city, cut down the trees, and founded a factory, the buildings of which were raised two and three stories high When the compound was made, and the rooms were ready to be roofed in, the nobles and chief men among the Saiyids and Mughals, who were great merchants, went to Mír Násir, *Faujdar* of Húghlí, and declared that if the strangers were allowed to ascend their lofty houses, they, the Mughals, would be greatly dishonoured, seeing that the persons of their females would be exposed to view The *faujdár* sent a report of the matter to Nawáb Ja'far Khán, and directed the Mughals and other principal inhabitants of the place to accompany it They all complained before the Nawáb, who issued orders to the *faujdár*, to the effect that not another brick or timber should be allowed to be raised The *faujdar*, immediately on receipt of the order, prohibited all the masons and carpenters from carrying on the work, and ordered that no one should go to the factory. Thus the work remained unfinished. Mr Chának, with great indignation, prepared to fight, but as he had a very small force, and only one vessel was present at the time, while the Mughals, who were joined by the powerful *faujdár*,[3] had assembled in great number, he saw no advantage in taking any hostile measure against them, and was

[1] This is not very logical or comprehensible
[2] Called Golgot by Orme.—*Fragments*, p 281
[3] His name was Abdu-l Ghani.—See Orme's *Fragments*, p 281

obliged to weigh anchor He had a burning glass in his ship, with which, by concentrating the sun's rays, he burnt the river face of the city as far as Chandernagore With a view to avenge this injury, the *faujdár* wrote to the police station at Makhúá, with orders to stop the vessel The *thanadár* accordingly, in order to prevent the passage of the vessel, prepared an iron chain, each link of which was ten *sirs* in weight, and having made it in length equal to the breadth of the river, kept it ready and made it firm to the wall of the fort The chain being extended across the river, the vessel was thus intercepted, but Mr. Chának cut through the chain with a European sword, and went on his way [1] He took his vessel out to sea, and proceeded towards the Dakhin.

In those days the Emperor Aurangzeb was in that part of the kingdom, straitened by his enemy for provisions, and his camp was reduced to starvation Upon this the chief of the factory in the Carnatic sent vessels laden with grain, showing great consideration for the throne, and proved of great service The Emperor was much pleased with the English people, and desired to know the Honourable Company's wishes The English chief requested him to grant a *sanad* and *farmán*, giving permission to establish factories in all parts of the kingdom, and particularly in Bengal The request was granted, and the royal orders exempting the Honourable Company's ships from custom duties, fixing a sum of three thousand rupees as a *peshkash* to be presented to the *bakhshi* of the port, and giving permission for the establishment of factories, were issued Mr Chának returned with the royal *farmans* from the Dakhin to Bengal. He sent his agents with the *peshkash* and some presents to Ja'far Khán, and obtained permission to erect a factory in Calcutta Mr. Chának accordingly erected a new factory at the place where he anchored after returning from the Dakhin, which is known by the name of Chának He founded the city and populated it,

[1] In the account of Job Charnock in Orme's *Fragments*, p 282, this forcing of the iron chain at Tihanpúra is mentioned

and gave a stimulus to the trade of Bengal. That factory is well known to this day by the name of the Old Fort.

Calcutta is a large city, situated on the banks of the Bhágírati. It is a large port, and the great mart of the trade of the Honourable Company and their dependents. Small vessels called *salap* (sloops ?) every year trade with this port from China, Europe, and other countries, and almost at all times some are at anchor there. In these days this city is the residence of the chief English officers, and the city and its dependencies are considered their property The buildings are built entirely of masonry, plastered with lime or mud The land, on account of its vicinity to the sea, is very brackish and damp, and hence the houses are raised two or three stories high The lower apartments are not fit to be inhabited. The buildings are like those of Europe, airy, spacious, and commodious The city is very large, and all constructed of brick Besides the English, the Bengalís, Armenians, and other inhabitants, are also opulent merchants. The water of the wells, on account of its brackish quality, is not drinkable If any person drinks it, he is sure to suffer In the hot and rainy seasons it becomes peculiarly bitter and saline, and consequently drinking water is procured from tanks The sea is forty *kos* distant from the city, and the ebb and flow of the tide occur every day and every night At full moon the bore rushes in for three days with unusual violence It presents a curious and wonderful scene, it throws some boats on the shore, and breaks others to pieces, those which are not near the shore receive no injury from it, and therefore no boat, large or small, is left there unanchored In the same manner, towards the end of the lunar month, the water rolls in with great violence for three days and nights These high floods are called *homan* in the Bengalí language, and that which takes place daily is termed *jowár-bháta*.

A mud fort towards the south, outside the city, constructed after the English model, is very marvellous. Its praise is beyond all expression; it is well worth seeing. The wall which

encircles it appears in every direction low from the outside, just like the embankment of a tank, but looking at it from the inside it appears high Very large and lofty buildings are erected within it, and much skill is shown in the entire construction of this fort There are many other wonderful and excellent works in this city. As regards the beauty of the buildings and various novelties, there is no city like this in the whole of Hindústán, except Sháh-Jahánábád, which is incomparable Its only defects are that the air is very insalubrious, the water brackish, and the soil damp, to such a degree that the floors of the houses, although made of bricks and lime, are still, from the excess of moisture, always damp, and the walls also are wet to the height of two or three cubits For four months in the winter the climate is not so unhealthy, but for eight months during the summer and rainy seasons it is very injurious.

Calcutta is a wonderful city, in the country of Bang
It is a specimen of both China and Farang
Its buildings are heart-attracting and delightful
Their heads are exalted to the height of the sky
The decorations executed in them by skilful persons
Exhibit a variety of good colours and beautiful drawings
From the beauty of the works of the European artists
The senses of the spectator are overpowered
The hat-wearing Englishmen who dwell in them
All speak the truth and have good dispositions
As are the dwellings, so are their occupants
How can I sufficiently indite their praises?
The roads made of pounded brick are so level,
That the morning breezes sweep away all the dirt from them
In all the lanes persons whose faces are like the moon take their walks,
So that you would say the earth was bathed in moonlight
One is like the moon, the other like the planet Jupiter,
The third shows a beauty like that of Venus
As a multitude of persons like the planets roam in every direction,
The streets take the resemblance of the Milky Way

You will see, if you go to the *bazár*, all the excellent things of the world.
All things which are produced in any part of the inhabited world
Are found in its *bazár* without difficulty.
If I attempt to write in praise of the marvels of the city,
The pen will refuse its office
But it is well known to all of every degree
That it combines the beauties of China and Farang
The ground is as level as the face of the sky,
And the roads in it are as straight as the line of the equator
People go out to walk on them,
And there they meet together like the planets
Such a city as this in the country of the Bengalís
Nobody has seen or heard of in the world

Account of Farásdángá

Chandernagore, *alias* Farásdángá, is twelve *kos* from Calcutta, and there is a factory in it belonging to the French Christians It is a small town on the banks of the Bhágíratí An officer on the part of the King of France remains there to govern the town and manage the commercial affairs of the place The English have no concern with it. In the same manner, Chochrá (Chinsura) is in possession of the tribe of Walandíz (Hollanders) This place is a little to the south of the port of Húghlí, and is one *kos* to the north of Farásdángá In like manner, Seorámpúr (Serampore), which is also situated on the same stream, and opposite to Chának, has a factory of the tribe of Danámár (Denmark), by which name the station itself is sometimes called In these places no other rule prevails than that of the nation which owns the factories

I again resume my original subject Nawáb Ja'far Khán, towards the close of his life, built on his own property, which lay to the east of the city of Murshidábád, a *ganj*, a *katrá*, a mosque, a minaret, a reservoir, and a large well He also raised his tomb at the foot of the stairs of the mosque, with the view that by that means it might not soon get injured, and that by

the fortunate contiguity of the mosque, prayers might constantly be made in his name As his end approached, having no son, he appointed as his representative and successor Sarfaráz Khán, his daughter's son, whom he had brought up from infancy, and consigned to his care all public treasure, the buried wealth, furniture, and all the privileges appertaining to the Nizám and the Emperor

The Sixth Year of the Reign of Ahmad Sháh.

In this year, 'Imádu-l Mulk (Gházíu-d dín), having secured the concurrence of Malhár Mahratta, attacked Súraj Mal Ját, who was one of the dependents of Safdar Jang Suraj Mal, having taken refuge in one of his forts, wrote to Ahmad Sháh and Intizámu-d daula, representing that if 'Imádu-l Mulk, joined by the Mahrattas, should acquire power, he would assuredly ruin the Empire as well as the Wazárat. Intizámu-d daula saw the evil, and persuaded the Emperor to proceed, on pretence of hunting, towards Sikandrá, where Holkar Mahratta suddenly made an attack upon the royal army Ahmad Sháh with his mother, Intizámu-d daula, and some other followers, fled. All the royal camp equipage and the insignia of royalty were plundered by the Rájpúts Malika Zamániya, the daughter of Farrukh Siyar, with other ladies of the royal household, were captured by the Mahratta and received into his *zenana*, and the honour of the family of Tímúr received a deadly wound [1]

'Imádu-l Mulk, on receipt of this intelligence, abandoned the siege of the Jat's forts, and in company with Malhár Ráo Holkar and Samsámu-d daula, the commandant of artillery, returned to Dehlí There, in concert with the chief officers of the throne, he first killed Intizámu-d daula, his maternal uncle, and then assumed the rank of *wazír* for himself, under the title of *Gházíu-d*

[1] Grant Duff (*History of the Mahrattas*, vol ii p 78) says merely that the baggage was plundered Scott says that after the outcry and plunder, the ladies were released and furnished with an escort to Dehli —Scott, *History of the Deccan*, vol ii p 229

dín Khán. He took Ahmad Sháh and his mother prisoners, and treated them with every indignity. The pen now turns to other matters, and, if God please, the present subject shall be hereafter resumed.

The Muhammadans and Christians in Malíbar and the Dakhin.

Let it not be hidden from the sun-resembling minds of those who understand the value of the gems of intelligence, that, previous to the rise of Muhammadanism, the Jews and the Christians had intercourse, as merchants, with most of the ports of the Dakhin, such as Palmár[1] and others Having become familiar with the people of that country, they established their residence in some of the cities, and built houses and gardens

In this manner they sojourned for many years. When the great star of Muhammadanism appeared, and the rays of that world-enlightening sun shone from the east to the west, gradually the countries of Hindústán and the Dakhin were also benefited by the light of the Muhammadan law, and intercourse of the Musulmáns with that country began Many of the kings and rulers of that country espoused the Muhammadan faith The Rájas of the ports of Goa, Dábal, and Chand, etc, allowed all the Musulmáns who came there from the different parts of Arabia to settle on the sea-shore, and treated them with great honour and respect For this cause the Jews and Christians burned with the fire of envy and malice. But when the countries of the Dakhin and Gujarát came into the possession of the Kings of Dehlí, and Islám was established in them, the Europeans put the seal of silence on their lips, and never uttered a word of animosity or opposition, till at length, about the year 900 A.H. (1495 A D), when weakness and disorder found their way into the government of the Sultáns of the Dakhin, the Portuguese Christians received orders from their King to build their forts on the shore of the

[1] Perhaps Palnád, the name of the district in which Calicut is situated.

Indian Ocean In the year 904 A H. (1499 A D) four ships of the same people arrived at the ports of Kandaría[1] and Kálíkot (Calicut), and having made themselves acquainted with the circumstances of the place, they returned to their own country Next year six vessels came and anchored at Kálíkot. The Portuguese petitioned the chief of the place, who was called Sámurí (Zamorin), to prohibit the Muhammadans from intercourse with Arabia, remarking that they would benefit him much more than the Muhammadans could The Sámurí, however, gave no heed to their prayers, but the Christians began to deal harshly with the Muhammadans in all their transactions At last the Sámurí, being provoked, gave orders that the Christians should be slain and plundered Seventy persons of rank were destroyed among the Christians, and those who remained embarked on the vessels, and thus saved themselves They landed near the city of Kojí (Cochin), the chief of which was at hostility with the Sámurí They obtained his permission to build a fort, which they completed hurriedly in a very short time. They demolished a mosque on the sea-shore, and made a Christian church of it This was the first fort which the Christians built in India

With the same expedition they built a fort at Kanúr (Cananore), and to their entire satisfaction engaged in the trade of pepper and dry ginger, preventing others from engaging in the same traffic On this account the Sámurí raised an army, and having killed the son of the chief of Cochin, plundered the country and returned The heirs of those who were slain again collected their forces, raised the standard of sovereignty, and restored the population of the country to its former state By the advice of the Firingís they built ships of war, and the chief of Cananore followed their example. This excited the anger of the Sámurí, who lavished immense treasure upon an army raised for the

[1] The passage of *Firishta*, from which this account seems to be taken, and which is abstracted from the *Tuhfatu-l Mujáhidín* (Briggs vol IV p 534), has "Koilad", but the lithographed original, which, as usual, differs very much from the translation, has "Kandaria"

purpose of attacking Cochin, but as the Firingís always gave their assistance to its chief, the Sámurí returned twice unsuccessful He was at last obliged to send his ambassadors to the Kings of Egypt, Jedda, Dakhin, and Gujarát, complaining to them of the outrages of the Christians, and imploring their aid. He also at the same time represented their disrespect towards Islám, and thus excited the wrath as well as the zeal of those Princes The Sultán of Egypt, Mansúr Ghorí, sent one of his officers named Amír Husain with thirteen ships (*ghrábs*) full of fighting men and munitions of war towards the coasts of Hindústán Sultán Mahmúd of Gujarát also prepared several ships to oppose the Firingís, and despatched them from the ports of Diú, Surat, Goga, Dábal, and Chand The Egyptian vessels touched first at Diú, and joining those of Gujarát, sailed towards Chand, where the Firingís had assembled This force was augmented by forty vessels of the Sámurí, and some from the port of Dábal. When the junction was effected, a fire-ship of the Firingis, without being observed, suddenly fell upon their rear, and the whole surface of the water was instantly in a blaze Malik Ayáz, the chief of Diú, and Amír Husain, prepared to oppose the enemy, but all to no avail Several Egyptian ships were taken by the enemy, numerous Muhammadans drank the sweet water of martyrdom, and the Firingís returned victorious to their port

It was during these days that Sultán Salím of Rúm obtained a victory over the Ghorí Sultáns of Egypt, and thus their dynasty closed The Sámurí, who was the originator of all those disturbances, was disheartened, and the Firingís obtained complete power, so much so, that in the month of Ramazán, 915 A H. (Dec. 1509 A D), they came into Kálíkot, set the *Jáma'-masjid* on fire, and swept the city with the broom of plunder Next day, the Palnádís collected in large numbers, and falling upon the Christians, killed five hundred men of rank, and many were drowned in the sea Those who escaped the sword fled to the port of Kúlim (Coulon). Having entered into friendly relations

with the *zamindár* of that place, they erected a fortress for their protection about half a *farsakh* from the city.

In the same year they took the fort of Goa, belonging to Yúsuf 'Ádil Sháh, who retook it by stratagem, but after a short time, the Firingís, having bribed the governor of the place with large sums of gold, again became its masters, and they made the fort, which was exceedingly strong, the seat of their Government. This made sorrow and grief prey upon the health of the Sámurí, who expired in 921 A H (1515 A D) His brother, who succeeded him, rolled up the carpet of destruction, and pursued the path of friendship with the Firingís He gave them ground for a fort near the city of Kálíkot, and took an agreement from them that he should be allowed to send four ships laden with pepper and dry ginger to the ports of Arabia For some time the Firingís observed these terms, but when the fort was completed, they prohibited his trading in those articles, and began again to practise all kinds of tyranny and persecution upon the followers of Islám.

In like manner, the Jews of Kranghír (Cranganore), observing the weakness of the Sámurí, advanced their foot beyond the proper limit, and made a great many Muhammadans drink the cup of martyrdom The Sámurí, repenting of his concessions, marched towards Cranganore, and so entirely extirpated the Jews that not a trace of them was found in that land. After this, joined by all the Musulmáns of Palnád, he proceeded to Kálikot, and laid siege to the fort of the Firingís, which he reduced with great difficulty This increased the power and pride of the Palnádís, who, according to the terms of the original agreement with the Firingís, began to send their ships full of pepper, dry ginger, etc., to the ports of Arabia

In the year 938 A H (1531 A D.) the Firingís founded a fort at Jáhát, six *kos* from Kálíkot, and prevented the sailing of the Palnádí vessels About the same time, during the reign of Burhán Nizám Sháh, the Christians built a fort at Rívadanda, near the port of Chaul, and took up their residence there. In

the reign of Sultán Bahádur Sháh of Gujarát, 941 A H. (1534 A D), they took possession of the ports of Swalh, Damán and Diú, which belonged to the Kings of Gujarát, and in the year 943 A H. (1536 A.D) they fully established themselves at Cranganore by force of arms.

At this time Sultán Salím of Rúm determined to expel the Firingís from the ports of India, and make himself master of them With this view, in the year 944 A H. (1537 A.D.), he despatched his minister, Sulaimán Bádsháh, in command of one hundred vessels, and he, having wrested the port of Aden from Shaikh 'Ámr, son of Shaikh Dáúd, whom he put to death, sailed to the port of Diú, and there made preparations for war He was nearly victorious, but, for want of provisions and treasure, he was obliged to return unsuccessful to Rúm.

In the year 963 A H. (1556 A D.) the Tarsás (Christians) were in possession of the ports of Hurmúz, Muskat, Sumatra, Malacca, Mangalore, Negapatam, Barcelore, Ceylon, and Bengal, to the very borders of China In all these places they built their forts. But Sultán 'Alí Haí captured the fort of Sumatra from them, and the chief of Ceylon also, having subdued the Firingís, expelled them from his dominions The Sámurí, chief of Kálíkot, being much harassed, sent his ambassadors to 'Alí 'Ádil Sháh and Murtazá Nizám Sháh, instigating them to wage a holy war against the Firingís and turn them out of their country.

In 979 A.H. (1570 A D) the Sámurí besieged the fort of Jáliát, and Nizám Sháh and 'Ádil Sháh besieged that of Ríva-danda The former, through his courage, was successful in capturing the fort, but the latter, on account of the infidelity of their servants, who were deceived by the temptations which the Firingís offered them, returned without fulfilling their object

From this time the Christians became more audacious in their persecution of the Muhammadans, in so far that they stretched out their rapacious hands to plunder on their return from Jedda some ships of the Emperor Jalálu-d dín Muhammad Akbar, which had sailed to Mecca without their permission, and they treated the

Musulmáns with great severity and contempt. They burnt down the port of 'Ádilábád Faráin, which belonged to 'Ádil Sháh, and entirely destroyed it In the guise of merchants, they also came to Dábal, and wished, by cunning and deceitful means, to obtain possession of it, but its chief, Khwája 'Alíu-l Malik, a merchant of Shíráz, being aware of their views, killed one hundred and fifty of their men of rank, and devoted himself to extinguish the fire of mischief

Establishment of the English Power in India

Be it known to men of curiosity that from the date that the ships of the Emperor Jalálu-d dín Muhammad Akbar were seized by the Christians, the sending of vessels to the ports of Arabia and Persia was entirely closed, not only in the Dakhin and Bengal, but in other provinces of Hindústán, because it was considered beneath the royal dignity to enter into treaties with the Firingís, and to send them without entering into any understanding was to throw lives and property into danger The Emperor's nobles, however, such as Nawáb 'Abdu-r Rahím Khán Khán-khánán, and others, having entered into an agreement with them, used to send their own ships, and affairs continued in this course for some time When the Emperor Núru-d dín Muhammad Jahángír ascended the throne of Dehlí, there existed great discord and animosity between the Christians of Portugal, France, etc. Thirsting after the blood of each other, they read together the same evil book of hatred and malice Contrary to the manner in which they had been treated, the Emperor granted the English a spot in Surat for the erection of a factory This was the first settlement which the English made on the coasts of India. Before this, they also occasionally brought their cargoes to the ports of Hindústán, and having sold them there, returned to their native country Afterwards, they also began to establish their factories at different places in the Dakhin and Bengal. In the time of Aurangzeb 'Álamgír, they founded the city of Calcutta, an account of which has been given above, and requires no repetition.

Battle of Nawáb Muzaffar Jang, son of Nawáb Nizámu-l Mulk A'saf Jah's daughter, with Nawab Anwáru-d din Khan, of Gopámau, a descendant of Roshan Islám Khan.

Nawáb Muzaffar Jang, grandson of Nawáb Nizámu-l Mulk Ásaf Jáh, at the instigation of Husain Dost Khán, *alias* Chandá, a resident of Arkát (Arcot), joined the French of Phúljarí (Pondicherry), and invaded Anwáru-d dín Khán Shahámat Jang of Gopámau, who had been governor of Arkát from the time of the said Nawáb Nizámu-l Mulk, with the intention of wresting the place from him A great battle ensued. Nawáb Shahámat Jang, however, having fought very boldly, and given proof of his valour, fell in the field Nawáb Nizámu-d daula Násir Jang, the second son of Nawáb Ásaf Jáh, who had succeeded him in the chiefship of the Dakhin after his death, on receiving the news of the defeat of his sister's son, marched to punish Muzaffar Jang with a body of 70,000 horse and a *lac* of foot-soldiers Having reached the port of Phúljarí, he engaged in battle on the 26th of Rabí'u-l ákhir, 1163 A H (24th March, 1750 A D), and became victorious. Muzaffar Jang was captured alive Nizámu-l Mulk passed the whole rainy season in Arkát

The French of Phúljarí, having made a confederacy with Himmat Khán and other Afghán chiefs of the Carnatic, and servants of Nizámu-d daula, made them blind to the obligations they owed to their master, with the temptation of land and riches These ungrateful people prepared to take cunning and deceitful measures, and joining with the Christian French of Phúljarí, made an attack in the night of the 16th Muharram, 1164 A.H (19th Nov. 1750 A D) They made Nawáb Nizámu-d daula drink the red cup of martyrdom, and after his death the said Afgháns and French raised Muzaffar Jang to the chiefship of the Dakhin. This Nawáb, with a body of the Afgháns, went to Phúljarí, and having employed a great number of the Christian French, purchased their support of himself In the same year he proceeded with an army of the Afgháns and the

French to Haidarábád, and passing through Arkát, entered the territory of the former tribe.

By the revolution of time a difference arose between Muzaffar Jang and the Afgháns, which turned to open hostility. On the 17th Rabí'u-l awwal of the said year, both parties prepared for battle. On one side stood Muzaffar Jang and the French, and on the other the Afgháns Himmat Khán and the other Afghán chiefs suffered the consequences of ingratitude, and were slain Muzaffar Jang also, having received a wound in his eye-ball, hastened to his grave After this the French entered the service of Amíru-l Mamálik Salábat Jang, the third son of Ásaf Jáh, and having obtained possession of Shikákul (Chicacole), Rájbandar, etc, they acquired great strength Their sway extended to different parts of the Dakhin. For a long time they had kept up an intercourse with this province, but nobody took them into service Muzaffar Jang was the first who employed them, and brought them into land belonging to Muhammadans.

When the French had reached this degree of power, the English, who are ever on thirst for their blood, also ventured to encroach upon the territories belonging to the Emperor. Having taken possession of some parts of the Dakhin, they made themselves master of the fort of Surat, and erected strong factories in Bengal They obtained orders from the Court of 'Álamgír for the exemption from tax of their goods, and they firmly settled in Bengal. As the French had put Nawáb Anwáru-d dín Khán, of Gopámau, Governor of Arkát, to death, and having nominally chosen a person as chief, had gained ground in the Dakhin, Nawáb Muhammad 'Alí Khán, his son, made friendship with the English officers, who in all respects gave him their assistance, and used their best efforts to extirpate the French. In 1174 A.H (1760 A D) they laid siege to the fort of Phúljarí, and having wrested it from the hands of the French, levelled all the buildings in it with the ground. Shikákul, Rájbandar, and other possessions of the French, the conquest of which was beyond all

expectation, fell of themselves into their hands. Nawáb Muhammad 'Alí Khán Mansur Jang, by the favour of the English, became governor of Arkát, under the title of Wáláj áh Amíru-l Hind Muhammad 'Alí Khán Bahádur Mansúr Jang. He gave himself up to the guidance of the English officers, and spent his whole life in the enjoyment of pleasure and delight At present the territory of Arkát, like Bengal, is under the sway of the English, as will be shown hereafter.

CXL.

TÁRÍKH-I SHÁH 'ÁLAM

OF

MANÚ LÁL

[The author of this little work was Manú Lál or Muná Lál, son of Bahádur Singh Munshí Sir H M. Elliot's MS extends to the twenty-fourth year of the reign, and at the end Sir Henry has written, "Imperfect as usual" It is the most common life of this Emperor, and was used by Colonel Francklin for his Life of Sháh 'Álam]

CXLI

SHÁH 'ÁLAM-NÁMA

OF

GHULÁM 'ALÍ KHÁN.

This life of Sháh 'Álam was written by a Mughal named Ghulám 'Alí Khán, who was formerly in the service of Prince Mirzá Jawán Bakht Bahádur Sháh. It gives at the end the date of the death of Sháh 'Álam, but the history in reality stops far short of that event, just previous to the blinding of the Emperor by Ghulám Kádir in 1788 A.D This work also was used by Colonel Francklin.

Size—8 by 5 inches, 252 pages of 13 lines each

CXLII

'IMÁDU-S SA'ÁDAT

OF

MÍR GHULÁM 'ALÍ

THIS work was composed in 1223 A H (1808 A D), by Ghulám 'Alí Razwí [or according to Mr Morley,[1] Mír Ghulám 'Alí Nakawí bin Saiyid Muhammad Akmal Khán] at the request of Col. Baillie, Resident at Lucknow It contains an account of the Nawábs of Oudh, from Sa'ádat Khán to Sa'ádat 'Alí, and gives some particulars regarding the transactions in Rohilkhand which make it worthy of perusal It also gives many interesting details relative to the affairs of Hindústán, the Mahrattas, the Durrání Afgháns, the Nizáms, the Sikhs, etc. The work concludes with the arrival of Lord Minto as Governor-General in 1807 A D I have heard that there is another work of the same author, called either *Imámu-s Sa'adat* or *Ma'dan-i Sa'ádat,* which goes over the same ground, but in much greater detail

The author gives the following account of himself When he was eight years old, he was summoned by his father from Rai Bareilly to Sháh-Jahánábád, where, though he was placed under tutors, his idleness prevented him acquiring any knowledge. In consequence of Ghulám Kádir's proceedings, his father left Dehlí on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and our author repaired to Lucknow, where, instead of devoting himself to his studies, he became a great opponent of the learned men of the city, and vainly tried to argue with them upon false and insufficient premises; nevertheless, he thus, by questionable and illicit means, managed to

[1] [Catalogue, p 93]

acquire a little true knowledge. Meanwhile the news arrived of his father's death in the Dakhin, after having performed his pilgrimage. He was thus forced to visit and remain in that country for the period of seven years, after which he returned to his native land He says he mentions all these circumstances in order to excuse his sad deficiency of learned acquirements."

Size of MS 8vo, 646 pages of 15 lines each. [This work has been printed at Lucknow]

EXTRACT

Death of Shujá'u-d daula

[There are many stories current about the disease with which the Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula was affected, some of them opposed to all reason, and others so unworthy of credence that they are not worthy of being recorded What was constantly affirmed is, that he had a bubo (*khiyarak*) which suppurated Ointment was applied to it, but so far from healing, the wound grew worse from day to day He lived for a month and thirteen days at Faizábád, during which time, that form which had been noted for its stalwart proportions grew thin and slender as a thread, and his arms looked like reed pens in his sleeves He died on the night of the 14th Zí-l ka'da, 1188 A H (1775 A D)][1]

[1] [There is no confirmation in this work or in the *Tarikh-i Muzaffari* of the story told in the *Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirin* about Háfiz Rahmat Khán's daughter The *Gul-i Rahmat* is specific, and says that he died of a swelling called in Hindi *bad* (bubo)]

CXLIII

NIGA'R-NA'MA-I HIND

OF

SAIYID GHULA'M 'ALI'.

[THIS work was written by Saiyid Ghulám 'Alí, the author of the preceding work He states in his Preface that he wrote the *'Imádu-s Sa'ádat*, containing memoirs of the ancestors of Yamínu-d daula, Nizámu-l Mulk, Nawáb Sa'ádat, 'Alí Khán Bahádur Mubáriz Jang, at Colonel John Baillie's[1] suggestion, by whom it was highly approved of on perusal. At his patron's recommendation, he then went away in expectation of employment, and after spending a short interval at Cawnpore and Gorakhpúr, came to Faizábád, where he, for certain reasons, remained a considerable time. During his stay, he longed for an opportunity of sending his patron some present, by which he hoped to be recalled to his presence, when he had the good fortune to hear from a person of known veracity, who had been present at all the engagements, and had seen with his own eyes a whole world turned topsy-turvy, and whose name he says shall be disclosed on fitting occasions, an account of the battle between the chief of the Dakhinís, Sadásheo Ráo Bháo and the Sháh Ahmad Sháh Abdálí Although these events had been chronicled in the *'Imádu-s Sa'adat,* yet they were not equally well authenticated nor so fully detailed, being merely recorded briefly, and in conformity with conflicting statements. They were introduced among the exploits of Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula

[1] [Major Fuller's translation calls him "Mr John Bayley"]

Bahádur, but as the main object of the work was something else, many important facts were omitted, consequently he had determined to compose a separate little book regarding this wondrous incident. Partly from the bent of his own inclinations, and partly for the sake of pleasing Colonel Baillie, of whose taste for historical researches he was well aware, he wrote these few pages, and styled them the *Nigár-nama-i Hind* He concludes with a hope that that gentleman will have the kindness to peruse his work, and that the public will charitably excuse all its faults and failings, etc

In a subsequent page the author informs us that his authority was a *brahman* of the Dakhin, named Ráo Káshi Ráo,[1] who was in the service of Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula of Oudh, and was present at the interview which the Mahratta envoy Bhawání Shankar had with him[2] "He related just whatever happened before his eyes, and the writer of these lines clothed the facts detailed to him without increase or decrease in the garb of phraseology"

This work travels over some of the ground already covered by the *Táríkh-i Ibrahím Khan*, and there are strong indications that our author had access to that work when he wrote this The *Tarikh-i Ibrahím Khán* was finished in 1786 A D The *Nigár-nama* bears no date, but it was written after the *'Imadu-s Sa'adat*, which was not finished till 1808 A H. So the oral information which the author received must have been reminiscences of more than twenty years' standing This work is written in much greater detail than the *Táríkh-i Ibráhím Khan*, and the language is more laboured and high flown

The whole work was translated for Sir H M. Elliot by the late Major Fuller, and from that translation the following Extracts have been taken

SIZE—6 inches by 4, 280 pages of 9 lines each.]

[1] [See *infrà*] [2] [*Supra*, p 277]

EXTRACTS

Ahmad Sháh's Review of his Army.

The ever-triumphant army of the Sháh, consisting of twenty-four corps, each of which consisted of 1200 horsemen, were drawn up, armed and accoutred, at the foot of the mound, under the command of the under-mentioned chiefs Barkhúrdár Khán, Ashrafu-l Wuzrá Sháh Walí Khán, Sardár-i Sardárán Sardár Jahán Khán, Sháh Pasand Khán, Nasír Khán Bulúch, Barkhúrdár Khán Sakina'ah, Zamralah Khán Kúlwarágháší, and Murád Khán an Iiání Mughal. Out of the whole 24,000 horsemen, 6000 were *ghuláms*,[1] who were encamped all round the royal pavilion at the distance of half a *kos*, and the rest of the army was ranged under the above-named leaders Two thousand camels for the transport of *shahins*, each camel carrying one *shahin* (a swivel-gun) and two *shahinchis* (men to serve it), as well as 40 pieces of ordnance, and several camels laden with rockets, were counted among the royal troops Along with Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula Bahádur were 2000 cavalry, 2000 infantry, and 20 guns of different calibre, and with Najíbu-d daula 6000 cavalry and 8000 Rohilla infantry * * Along with Davíndí Khán and Háfizu-l Mulk Háfiz Rahmat Khán were counted 18,000 Rohilla infantry, 3000 or 4000 cavalry, and some guns, while with Ahmad Khán Bangash Farrukhábádí there were only 2000 horse and foot altogether, besides camp followers and attendants and a few guns.

The total force on this side was reckoned at 40,000 cavalry and several thousand infantry, out of which number 40,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry[2] The men of the royal army were of several

[1] This appears to be a mistake for "Out of the 24 corps of cavalry, 6000 horsemen were *ghuláms*" ["Ahmad Sháh's army consisted of 24 *dastas*"—*Akhbáru-l Muhabbat* This authority entirely agrees as to the number of men and guns, and either derived its information direct from the *Nigar-nama* or from the same source]

[2] [Major Fuller was in doubt about this passage, and wrote his translation in pencil There seems to be some omission in the text The corresponding passage in the *Akhbaru-l Muhabbat* says "The whole army amounted to 40,000 horse and

different denominations First, Durránís of the same tribe as the Sháh, every one of whom might be well called iron-hearted, and a smasher of the hardest rock, second, Kazalbáshís, all of whom were equal in strength and martial prowess to Rustam and Narímán, third, Kábulís, who used the *sher-bachahs*, all youths with frames sturdy as elephants, and mounted on steeds of foreign breed, looking like mountains and accustomed to traverse the desert; fourth, the valiant and devoted *ghuláms* and 4000 *shahínchís*, well-drilled and expert shots, two of whom rode one camel These made up 24,000 cavalry, and there were also 4000 *shahinchís*, who were reckoned the most warlike force, and used to receive subsistence money from the presence Their names were inscribed on a roll in the *Bakhshí's* office, they were all picked and experienced soldiers of proved courage and loyalty, and strong, valiant and impetuous warriors. Besides, there was a force not taken into account, which was styled the corps of *yatíms*, for in company with each Durrání were four *yatím* horsemen The corps was intended solely for harassing and pillaging the enemy, and hence, after the Durránís made a charge in the heat of a battle, the *yatíms* followed in rear of them, and prosecuted their attacks These same Abdálí *yatíms* used to be employed for the purpose of cutting off supplies, and making predatory forays, and whatever spoil fell into their hands, they were allowed to retain, but no subsistence was granted them by government.

Review of the Bháo's Troops

Sadásheo Ráo Bháo, having heard the news that the Sháh had been holding a review of his troops, and that the royal army resembling the waves of the sea was preparing to move, came several marches this side of Kunjpúra, and had an inspection of

40,000 foot-soldiers, out of which thirty thousand mounted and ten thousand dismounted men, having *sher-bachas* (pistols) of Kábul, and two thousand small guns, carried by camels, belonged to the King These numbers were ascertained from the officers in charge of the royal records "]

his own soldiery. In effect, the muster of the army (terrible from its numbers as the day of judgment) belonging to the Ráo in question was according to the under-mentioned detail Ibráhím Khán, besides the body of horsemen mentioned below, of whom only 2000 accompanied *him*, had 9000 Gárdí carbineers, with four pieces of ordnance to every 1000 men. His full complement was 6000 cavalry,[1] Malhár Ráo Holkar, 5000 cavalry; Jhankújí Sindhia, 10,000, Appájí Gaikawár, 3000, Jaswant Ráo Panwár, 2000, Shamsher Bahádur, 3000, Pílújí, Jádún's son, 3000; Bithal Sheo Deo, 3000, Balwant Ráo, a half-brother of Bháo, who, on all trying occasions, dashed forward in advance of the latter, 7000, Biswás Ráo's private *risalah*, 5000; and Appájí Mángesiah, 2000 In a word, there mustered 51,000 warlike cavalry, suitably armed and mounted, and 11,000 infantry, together with the Gárdí carbineers, 200 pieces of artillery, and camels carrying rockets, and several others *zambúraks* The arms, horses, and equipments of this force were in such excellent order, that no one of the royal or Hindústání armies had ever reached so high a state of discipline Out of all the irregular troops accompanying Biswás Ráo and the body of Chorghorí Dhol horsemen, there were nearly 20,000 cavalry, as well as 2000 Rájpút horse, along with the *wakils* of the Rájas of Kachhwáha and Ráthor, and other people belonging to the forces of different chiefs of Hindú extraction, who had mostly, through fear of the ravages of the Dakhinís, put the ring of obedience in their ears, and deeming submission to these chiefs the means of escape from disaster, hastened zealously to comply with their instructions As for Nárad[2] Shankar, who had been left behind with 6000 cavalry and a small quantity of military stores, with a view to protect the city of Dehlí, his detachment was in addition to this It is a well-known fact that the whole Dakhin came along with Bháo, and I therefore assert, that however large the equip-

[1] ["Ibráhím Khán Gardí had 2000 horse and 9000 Gárdí foot-soldiers, with guns and four large cannons The Mahratta chiefs' own cavalry numbered 6000 men"—*Akhbáru-l Muhabbat*]

[2] "[Tárú"—*Akhbár*]

ment and army which has been enumerated may appear, it is but a trifle after all.

Entrenched Camps.

Having at last reached Pánípat, the Bháo encompassed that city, and having regularly encamped his army around it, gave directions for the excavation of a ditch all round his own camp. Immediately after the promulgation of the order, the men applied themselves vigorously to the work, and having in a very short space of time dug a ditch twenty yards broad, and deeper than the height of an elephant, made it their safeguard against the enemy's fire, and having thus gained confidence, held their ground with firmness and intrepidity Bháo having fixed upon this place in his own mind as the scene of strife and tumult, took up his quarters there, and planting his artillery at intervals connected by chains all along the ditch, closed the path of access against the enemy The Sháh having likewise arrived at the head of his army, terrible as the day of judgment, within a distance of four *kos*, directed the excavation of an ordinary ditch, such as was usually dug every day. The pioneers, agreeably to orders, dug a ditch according to custom, and placed along the brink of it an abattis of *dhak* trees, or whatever else they could find, but as a longer stay was expected here than at other places, the excavation of a larger ditch than usual was undertaken

The Bhao makes Overtures for Peace

Bháo, notwithstanding his vast pomp, mighty valour, and numerous associates, lost heart, and beholding the form of adversity in the mirror of his understanding, let slip the cord of firmness from his hand, and knocked at the door of humble solicitation with the utmost importunity Káshí Ráj, who is the narrator of these incidents, has thus related the story. "An individual by name Ganesh Pandit, who occupied the post of newswriter on behalf of the above-mentioned Ráo at the

Court of Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula Bahádur, and enjoyed the honour of being admitted to his presence, began, after the occurrence of these events, to make overtures for peace at the instance of the aforesaid Ráo. Most of the Hindí notes in the Mahratta dialect he wrote to me with his own hand, and the pith of their contents was this 'Do you solicit His Highness, and urgently persuade him to this course, viz, in combination with Ashrafu-l Wuzrá (Sháh Wáli Khán), to throw open the door of peace to me, and if a peace be concluded, immense favours shall be shown him in return for it' Accordingly, on one occasion he sent His Highness the impression of his hand in saffron, together with a sworn agreement, and a white Dakhiní turban, with a *sarpech* studded with diamonds, by way of an interchange of turbans, and I presented it for the auspicious inspection From this side likewise the customary present was made in return, and by degrees I brought His Highness's mind to this, that he entered into a consultation with Ashrafu-l Wuzrá on the subject, and whatever appeared in writing between them was always addressed to Ashrafu-l Wuzrá through the medium of your humble servant [*Long consultations upon the proposal*] After all, the communications led to nothing"

CXLIV

MUNTAKHABU-T TAWÁRÍKH

OF

SADÁSUKH.

AUTHOR Munshí Sadásukh Dehlawí, whose poetical title was Niyáz

This is a history of India from the time of the Ghaznívides to the closing scenes of the Mughal Empire, and the accession of Akbar II It is written with much personal knowledge of the later transactions, into which the English begin at last to be introduced It includes at the end of the first Book an account of the revenues of the later Mughal Empire, with a few geographical particulars more intelligibly recorded than is usual with Hindústání authors, and an account of the Rájas of the northern hills, Rájpútána and the Dakhin, and their respective dominions, at the end of the second Book Though it is not mentioned in the Preface, we learn from several parts of the work that it was composed in the year 1234 A H (1818-19 A D)

Sadásukh opens his history with a critical account of Firishta's ante-Muhammadan period, which he condemns as in every respect untrustworthy, but after that he follows him implicitly to the time of Akbar The history of the minor monarchies is entirely abstracted from that author, and he divides his work in the same manner When he reaches the earlier Mughal monarchs, he avails himself of the other ordinary sources of information, and intersperses his accounts with anecdotes, in which the principal actors are represented as Jahángír, Sháh Jahán and other noted Indian characters; but in reality the stories are familiar in the East as

showing the justice, ingenuity, clemency, or vigour of older and more celebrated potentates, such as Sulaimán and Naushírwán. These misrepresentations probably arise more from ignorance than design.

The real value of the work commences only from the reign of Sháh 'Álam, and indeed the author states that it was chiefly his object to write a full and connected history of the period commencing with Bahádur Sháh to his own time, in which he has been, it must be confessed, entirely successful, but that in order to render the work complete as a General History of India, he freely extracted a brief account of the several countries and kings of India from every historical composition procurable in his time, and especially from Firishta, from whom he confesses he has copied verbatim even where he suspected error. Where he quotes original works, as the *Tárikh-i Guzída* and *Tabakát-i Násiri*, it is evident that he obtains them second-hand from Firishta.

The author was born at Dehlí, and died at an advanced age at Alláhábád subsequent to the introduction of our rule. It is understood that he was employed at the close of last century under the British Government in some official capacity at Chunar. He wrote several other works and treatises besides this history, among which the *Tambíhu-l Jahilín*, which contains an account of the Hindú Sháštras, customs and tribes, is exceedingly useful, and exhibits great powers of observation. Much is of an anecdotical character, but is not less valuable on that account.

The same title which this history bears is usually given to the *Tárikh-i Badaúní*. Another contains a history of Tímúr and Sháh Rukh Mírzá, with letters written by the latter to the Emperor of China, in which he endeavours to effect his conversion to the Muhammadan faith. It also contains the Mughal's correspondence with Saiyid Khizr Khán, Emperor of Dehlí, and has an appendix giving an account of Transoxiana. Another is the *Muntakhab-i Be badal*.

The author tells us that when released from his official duties,

he went, at the age of sixty-five, to reside at Alláhábád For the period of ten years from that time he engaged himself in literary occupations, and wrote, like another Lucilius, no less than 125,000 lines of verse in Persian, Urdú and Bhákhá, besides nearly 5000 pages of prose

It was after these labours that he commenced his History, in which he professes not to have followed the plan of other historians, "who, being in the service of powerful kings, have obtained reward and promotion by their flatteries—have made mountains out of mole-hills, and suns out of atoms He, on the contrary, who had one foot in the grave, and wished for no other recompense than the praise of honest men, who coveted no bread but that which the Almighty might be pleased to give him, who had no object in glozing his narrative with lies and misrepresentations, and whose only remaining ambition was to leave a good name behind him, was determined to write without fear or favour"

Under this declaration, it is gratifying to find him taking every opportunity to praise the English, expressing his gratitude for the evils from which they had saved his country, and contrasting their administration with that of the Muhammadans With a spirit unusual with his countrymen, which his secure residence at Alláhábád enabled him to express without reserve, he thus records his opinions at the end of the first introductory chapter "At this time there is neither Ráí nor Rája, nor Musulmán, but only Mahrattas, Firingís and Sikhs God forbid that the Firingís should imitate the Musulmáns in carrying on a holy war against infidels! else to poor people it would be a sore day of judgment God be praised that those wretches are now the sufferers! From the day that the rule of the English has been established, even the wing of a gnat has not been injured by the blast Although it must be acknowledged that employment in their service is as rare as a phœnix, yet there is extreme security under them I have myself seen the depredations of the Afghâns round Dehlí and Mattra. God defend us from them! It makes the very

hair of the body stand on end to think of them Two hundred thousand men were destroyed in these massacres, and the hordes of the enemy were without number. Such atrocities, forsooth, were perpetrated in compliance with their religion and law! What cared they for the religion, the law, the honour and reputation of the innocent sufferers? It was enough for such bigots that splendour accrued by their deeds to the faith of Muhammad and 'Alí!"

[A large portion of this work has been translated for Sir H M Elliot by a *munshí*, including the histories of the Nizám-Sháhí and Kutb-Sháhí dynasties, the history of Malabar taken from the *Tuhfatu-l Mujahidín*, some particulars relating to the rulers of Nipál, etc, for which there is no room in this Volume]

The author divides his history, according to the fanciful language of Eastern authors, into two palaces (*kasr*) The first is subdivided into two mansions (*mahall*), the second into ten mansions and six chambers (*aiwán*, which in the second Book are called by some oversight *hujra*)

CONTENTS

SIZE—8vo, 1357 pages, with 15 lines to a page

I know of only one copy of Sadásukh's history, a very illegible autograph of the author, in the possession of his family at Alláh-

ábád. From this my own was taken, and from the work being altogether unknown elsewhere, it may be presumed there is no other

EXTRACTS

Shujá'u-d daula.

Shujá'u-d daula (after his defeat by Sháh 'Álam and the English) went to consult with Ahmad Khán Bangash In reply to Shujá'u-d daula, Ahmad Khán Bangash said, "I recommend you to go to the English attended by only one or two hundred unarmed men, and entertain no fear, because they are very wise and liberal, and it is not to be expected that they will treat you otherwise than in a becoming manner" Shujá'u-d daula, after deliberation, saw that the old man was right, and agreed with him that what he had said was best "I have got with me," he said, "some very valuable presents to give them. The fact is, two boys of noble extraction, ten or twelve years of age, who belong, perhaps, to the family of the King of England, have fallen into my hands, and I have regarded them with much greater care and affection than my own sons They are much pleased with me, and they have promised that, if I take them to their own people, they will do me much good. Although no dependence can be placed upon the words of boys, yet I see no other chance of success I will go to the English according to your suggestions Let the event be what it may, I will launch my boat on the water" The Nawáb, having left Ahmad Khán, proceeded in that direction with about one thousand of his servants, including his own family It happened that at this time Lord Clive, who was a very experienced officer, had just arrived from England, and had proceeded from Calcutta to Alláhábád, on the part of the Honourable Company to settle pending disputes, and to obtain the liberty of the two boys who had been taken by Shujá'u-d daula. When the Nawáb arrived at Nawáb-ganj, which is six *kos* from Alláhábád, Lord Clive, Mr. Stacy, and some other officers in the King's service,

came to receive him. The English gentlemen took off their hats, and showed all marks of respect, according to the custom of their country, and behaved with great affability They stood before him closing their hands together After that, they conducted him with great honour into the fort of Alláhábád. At this Sháh 'Álam changed colour. What passed in his mind he knew alone There is no room to say more about it All this honour and respect which the English showed to the Nawáb were very disgusting to Sháh 'Álam

Beni Bahádur, who had gone towards the district of Bíswára and Lucknow, also came with all speed, and sought the protection of the English, fearing lest, by being separated from Shujá'u-d daula, some mischief might befall him After showing every hospitality and respect, the English intimated to the Nawáb that they would not take the country which formerly belonged to him Shujá'u-d daula surrendered both the boys whom he had kept with such care to Lord Clive. The Governor-General sent them to England, and after this it was proposed to the Nawáb, that at all times the English army would be ready to assist him, and so it would be kept at his disposal wherever he chose to place it, he should therefore make a provision for their pay from the revenue of his territory Thus it was agreed that the Nawáb should take ten *anas* in the rupee, and should give up six *anas* on account of the army

This being done, the English recommended Sháh 'Álam to him, saying that he had separated himself from the Nawáb, and had taken their side only with a view to his own interest, and that the Nawáb ought to assist him by making some provision for his maintenance The districts of Alláhábád, Kora, and Karra, might be made over to him. At this time Shujá'u-d daula was a mere cipher Whatever he received he considered as the gift of God, and was satisfied Such honours and distinguished treatment were beyond his expectation, and he knew not, as somebody says, "Whether all this was reality or a dream" He esteemed it a favour of Providence to see himself in such a

fortunate state after his distress. What could he do, had he not accepted? He agreed to the proposals of the English with all his heart He said that he was a slave of that noble house, and he should be very happy to render it any assistance in his power.

After this the English were going to submit another question. But the Nawáb, interrupting them, said, if they wished to recommend him to forgive that ungrateful wretch, he would not accept all the favours they were bestowing on him. He would go to Calcutta or England and remain there, but they should say nothing in behalf of Bení Bahádur He would proceed against him in the manner he thought best The English also thought that Bení Bahádur was a mean and low person, who had been raised to such rank only through the favour of Shujá'u-d daula, that ho had ruled instead of the Nawáb himself, and yet had behaved towards him with ingratitude He was a servant of the Nawáb, who might do with him what he liked, they had no concern with that wretch But they requested that the Nawáb would grant them one favour, which was not to take his life Shujá'u-d daula agreed, and having deprived him of sight, fixed a daily allowance of ten rupees for his subsistence

The Nawáb, very happy and cheerful, marched thence and came to Faizábád He paid no attention to the old army and the Mughals, so that they dispersed in all directions The truth is that within the last three hundred years, Humáyún and Shujá'u-d daula are the only two potentates who have recovered their lost kingdoms after most marvellous vicissitudes The latter even exceeded the former in this respect, for Humáyún, after obtaining his kingdom, did not enjoy the pleasures of it, because he soon died But Shujá'u-d daula, after emerging from a state of the utmost embarrassment, added, by the power of his arms, the districts of Etáwa and Rohilkhand to his former dominions, and ruled in great prosperity and happiness for ten or twelve years after it. His descendants also enjoy their power to this day, * * and at present, among the Muhammadans, there are no princes so fortunate The Nawáb, after dismissing the old army,

organized a new force in imitation of the English He taught the soldiers the use of muskets or matchlocks. He made several divisions, each counting one thousand men, and gave them the appellation of Bark Battalion, Bakht Battalion, and Báísí. Instead of Kumaidans and Captains, he called the officers by the name of Sálár In short, he introduced everything into the army entirely contrary to, and at variance with what prevailed before

'Shah 'A'lam

Sháh 'A'lam angrily demanded from Najaf Khán an account of the revenues of Alláhábád and the districts under his charge, and also the payment into his treasury of all the money he had appropriated to himself from the income of the *khalsa maháls*, He dismissed Najaf Khán from the Governorship of the province of Alláhábád, and appointed Shukru-llah Khán in his stead Najaf Khán prepared to dispute the matter by force He replied that in rendering assistance to Shujá'u-d daula, ten *lacs* of rupees had been spent when he was fighting alone for thirteen days, and that money ought to be repaid to him A great misunderstanding arose between him and the King, and at last the English became mediators, and caused three *lacs* of rupees to be given to Najaf Khán by the King Twenty-six *lacs* of rupees from the revenues of Bengal, out of which two *lacs* were to be annually paid to Najaf Khán, thirty *lacs* from the *chakla* and the province of Alláhábád, about five or six *lacs* from Shujá'u-d daula's territory, and an equal amount from those of Najibu-d daula and Háfiz Rahmat Khan, viz altogether about seventy *lacs* of rupees, were fixed to be paid to the King All this may be considered to have been done through the kindness of the English, who thus enabled the King to live very comfortably Ahmad Sháh and 'A'lamgír had not even dreamt of such wealth as Sháh 'A'lam enjoyed through the favour of God and the liberality of the English After some time, Zú-l fikáru-d daula was appointed, on the part of Sháh 'A'lam, collector of Kora, and Shákiru-d daula governor of Alláhábád The English returned to Bengal

The Company.

In England the ruling power is possessed by two parties, one the King, who is the lord of the State, and the other the Honourable Company The former governs over his own country, and the latter, though only subjects, exceed the King in power, and are the directors of mercantile affairs Their agents carry on traffic in the foreign countries, such as India, China, Rúm, and other distant islands and ports They themselves remain in their own country, like subjects obedient and submissive to their King

CXLV

ASHRAFU-T TAWÁRÍKH

OF

KISHAN DAYÁL

"The Most Excellent of Histories" is the title of a work written by 'Izzdu-d dín 'Abdu-r rahmán bín Ahmad Íjí in the middle of the fourteenth century, but the history we have now under consideration was composed by Kishan Dayál *Khatri*, of Dehlí, written for the purpose of being presented to Chandú Lál, minister of Haidarabád It was completed in 1826 A D, and took five years to compile.

This enormous work is a useful compilation, but possesses little originality Its chief value consists in its translations, or copious abstracts of the *Rámayana*, *Mahabhárat*, and some of the *Puránas*. The rest of the work is a mere rifacimento from various authors, geographical as well as historical, and generally without any indication of the sources of information.

The *Ashrafut-t Tawaríkh* is divided into seven Books

CONTENTS.

BOOK I. contains an epitome of the Shiú (Siva) Purán, and an account of the ten Avatárs, p 10, II. Translation of the Rámáyana, p 226; III. Translation of the Bhágavat Purána, p 1014, IV Holy men of the Hindús, p 1462, V An epitome of the Mahábhárata — an account of the Hindú ante-Muhammadan Rájas—the Muhammadan Kings of Ghazní and Dehlí, from Mahmúd to Akbar II, and the Establishment of British supremacy, p 1608, VI. The Revenues of the different Provinces of Hindústán and Persia, p 2968, VII An account of the seven climates, noted cities, and wonders of the world, p 3022

The work closes with an account of the Brahmins and Khatrís, and an eulogium on Rája Chandú Lál

SIZE—Elephant Folio, consisting of 3128 pages, each containing 19 lines

There are only two copies of this work, both of which belong to the family of the author One is plentifully illustrated in the portion devoted to Hindú Mythology and History

The work is written, in the parts which are not copied or translated from others, in a very flowery style, which, though correct in its structure, is preposterous in its extravagance For instance, a high-strained panegyric is applied to that royal puppet, Akbar II, a mere pensioner of the British Government, entirely divested of all civil, military, and political power, except within the narrow precincts of his own palace Such fulsome and hyperbolical panegyric, even if bestowed upon Akbar the Great, would be offensive enough, but when the subject of it is Akbar the Little, it becomes absolutely nauseous

CXLVI

JINÁNU-L FIRDAUS

OF

MIRZÁ MUHAMMAD YÚSUFÍ.

"The Gardens of Paradise" so called, we are informed, for the very substantial reason that the work consists of eight chapters, and the Muhammadan Paradise contains as many gardens The author may perhaps have derived his idea from the famous *Firdausu-t Tawáríkh* of Ibn Mu'ín, composed in A H 808

This work consists of historical tables, showing the Princes of the several Muhammadan Dynasties of Asia, Africa, and Spain, with the dates of the birth, accession, and death of each sovereign, and the period of his reign and life The tables are generally prefaced by a brief Introduction The *Jinanu-l Firdaus* shows the successions of the different Khalífs, the rulers of Syria, Arabia, Persia, Egypt, Shirwán, Lár, Khwárism, and Hindústán, the Isma'ílians, Saljúkís, Atábaks, Sámánians, Sharífs of Mecca, Ghaznívides, Ghorians, and Mughals, and several other dynasties of minor importance

The work was composed in A H 1126 (A D 1714), by Mirzá Muhammad Yúsufí, but completed by Tajammul Husain in A H 1244 (A D 1828–9), who, finding in the library of his patron, Mr. Montague Turnbull, of the Civil Service, an incomplete copy of the *Jinanu-l Firdaus*, added a seventh and eighth chapter to supply the deficiency. The sixth chapter of the original work contains an account of the Kings of Dehlí to the close of the Afghán Súr Dynasty, as well as an account of the Bahmaní, Nizám-Shahí, 'Ádil-Sháhí, Kutb-Sháhí, and Fárúkí Dynasties, and the Kings of Gujarát, Málwá, Jaunpúr, Bengal, Kashmír, Multán, and Sind There are, no doubt, perfect copies of the original, complete in eight chapters, as the name implies In the seventh chapter, added by Tajammul Husain, there is an account

of the Mughal Dynasty of India, and in the eighth chapter an account of the Wazírs of Oudh, and the Nizáms of Bengal and Bihar.

The tables have been compiled from the best sources of information, including, among others, *Jalalu-d dinu-s Sayúti*, *Ibn Khallikán*, *Nizámu-t Tawáríkh*, *Matla'u-s Sa'dain*, *Habíbu-s Siyar*, *Rauzata-s Safa*, *Tabakat-i Akbari*, Firishta, *Jahan-ara*, *Tarikh-i Alfi*, and *Tarikh-i Badaúni*, and it would therefore be worth printing, if correctly edited, for the use of the Persian students of our colleges

The only copy which I know of the *Jinánu-l Firdaus* is in the possession of Major-General T P Smith, of the Bengal Army

SIZE—4to, 162 pages, of 19 lines each

CXLVII

TÁRÍKH-I HENRY

OF

SAIYID MUHAMMAD BÁKIR 'ALÍ KHÁN

THIS is a compilation by Saiyid Muhammad Bákir 'Alí Khán, son of Hazrat Sháh Kalímu-llah Bokhárí, dedicated to Mr Pidcock of the Civil Service, and entitled *Tarikh-i Henry* in compliment to that gentleman's Christian name

CONTENTS

The Preface, showing the cause of his writing history, with copies of verses in praise of the Magistrate and Collector and Judge, and Sir Charles Metcalfe, p 1 —The Introduction contains an account of Adam, the Prophets, Muhammad, Saints, and Philosophers, p. 11 —BOOK I comprises an account of the Kaiánians, 'Ummayides and 'Abbásides, and Changíz Khán, p 85 ; II. Tímúr and his Descendants in India, down to the battle

of Buxar, p. 182, III The Rájas of Dehlí preceding the introduction of Muhammadanism, p 245, IV. The Ghaznívides and Kings of Dehlí to the time of Bábar, p 269, V The Saljúkians, Safavíáns, Isma'ílians, and some other dynasties, p 365—The Conclusion describes the seven climates, with geographical details, and the wonders of the world, p 387

SIZE—Folio, 441 pages, each containing 23 lines

This work, which was composed in 1835, is chiefly an abstract, without acknowledgment, of the *Mir-at-i Áftab-numá,* and is of no value, though of some repute in Bundelkhand, where it was composed There is nothing original throughout the whole work The author says that his ancestors were frequently appointed tutors to the Princes of the Imperial family of Dehlí, that the *Fatáwái 'Álamgíri* and *Fatáwai Hindi* were compiled by them, that he himself was tutor to Mirzá Jahángír and Mirzá Bábar, that thinking it his duty to instruct them in history, he diligently read the *Sháh-náma,* and made extracts from historical works in the Imperial Library, that on the removal of Prince Jahángír to Alláhábád, the author's eldest son, Saiyid Ahmad 'Alí Khán, was appointed under him as the Prince's tutor, that he himself, finding the Prince's indifference to learning, left Alláhábád, and was appointed by Mr. W Dick to be Munsif of Hamírpúr, and that seeing Mr. Pidcock one day studying a book respecting the Sádhs, and observing that gentleman's eager desire to learn ancient history, he thought that a general history would be acceptable to him, and in furtherance of this view he compiled the *Táríkh-i Henry.*

The *Táríkh-i Henry,* notwithstanding that it is dedicated to an English gentleman, contains at its commencement a sly insinuation against the doctrine of the Trinity and Incarnation

CXLVIII

BALWANT-NÁMA

OF

FAKÍR KHAIRU-D DÍN MUHAMMAD

THIS is a history of the Rájas of Benares, and of the occurrences in that province during the middle of the last century, when it was the scene of so many events important in the history of India. It was composed at the instigation of some English gentleman, by Fakír Khairu-d dín Muhammad of Alláhábád, the author of the *'Ibrat-náma* (No CXIX), and of the History of Jaunpúr translated by Major Pogson The narrative is sometimes broken by the intervention of irrelevant matter, such as, for instance, a long controversy between a Musulmán and a Hindú on subjects connected with their respective creeds, but barring this defect, the volume is very useful

[The work is divided into five Chapters. Chap I gives an account of the rise of the Rájas of Benares, and the other four chapters are devoted respectively to the Rájas Balwant Singh, Chait Singh, Mahipat Náráin, and Udit Náráin Singh]

[There is a copy of the work among Sir H M Elliot's MSS]

SIZE—Small 8vo , 510 pages, of 13 lines each

CXLIX.

YÁDGÁR-I BAHÁDURÍ

OF

BAHÁDUR SINGH.

THE author of this voluminous work is Bahádur Singh, son of Hazárí Mal, a Bhatnágar Káyath of the Gondíwál sub-division, and a resident of Sháh-Jahánábád, who finished his work in the year 1249 A H. (1833-4 A D)

He tells us very little about himself, and there is no part of the work that enables us to fill up the outline. He says merely that circumstances induced him to leave his native country, and that he was in great distress when he arrived at Lucknow in the year 1232 A H (1817 A D), in the time of Gházíu-d dín Haidar. It was there that he read several Hindí and Persian works, containing accounts of kings, nobles, ministers, divines and philosophers, and that he was induced to write a connected history of them, in order that the great men of the present day might benefit by their examples This work he called after his own name, *Yádgár-i Bahadurí*, "The Memorial of Bahádur"

This is all we learn from the Preface, which is usually full of personal details, but at page 2040 we are told the work was finished in the year above mentioned on the 1st of the "blessed month" Ramazán, after having occupied a long time in its compilation The work, we are told, is a mere copy from others, and the author has not added a word, and that after reading several histories, some of which are laudatory and some inculpatory, and few without a leaning one way or the other, he has come

to the conclusion that there are more lies than truths in history. One would have hoped for something philosophical after such a declaration, but he evidently adheres to his determination of giving nothing original; and it is only at the close of the work, when he gives an account of the Nawábs of Oudh, their families and ministers, that we are favoured with anything historical which we cannot obtain elsewhere

There are, however, several features in the work, besides its historical ones, which render it of value The History of the Hindú sects and devotees, the biographies of the Poets, the Chapters on the useful arts, and the Geography, are especially to be commended The latter appears to be chiefly taken, without acknowledgment, from the *Hadíkatu-l Akalím*, (No CVII, *suprà*, p 180), but it contains some notices not to be found in that work

The author entertained great rancour against the Kashmírians, and in his history of that country he speaks of their depravity as arising from their illegitimacy, and ends by saying that rich and poor should abhor this people, and even destroy them when possible, and that "he who is their friend cannot be quite free from contamination in his own descent" It is probable that he may have been thwarted in obtaining some employment by the superior adroitness and intrigue of one of this race, and takes this opportunity of venting his spleen upon the whole nation It must be confessed, however, that they bear a bad character in Hindústán, and certain popular verses show the low estimation in which they are held The constant oppression they have undergone for the last thousand years, and which they are still subject to, is enough to degrade the *morale* of any nation, with whatever excellences it may have been originally endowed by its Maker.

CONTENTS

vii The Sharífs of Mecca and Medína, p 115 —Book III contains seven Chapters Chap i Philosophers of Greece and Europe, including Columbus and Copernicus (whose system is explained), India and Persia (including Zoroaster), and some of the Moderns, p 135; ii Companions of the Prophet, p 192, iii His chief Dependents, p 195, iv. Mashaikhs, Súfís, and Hindú Saints, in four Sections Section 1 Sunnís, p 198, 2 Shí'as, p. 289, 3 Súfís of Írán (chiefly from the *Nafhatu-l Ins*), p. 296; 4. Hindú Theosophists, Devotees and their Sects, p. 314 Chap. v. Muhammadan Doctors, p. 508, vi. The celebrated Poets, etc, and miscellaneous matters, in twenty Sections Section 1 Poets of Arabia, p 526, 2 Poets of Persia, p 528, 3 Various kinds of handwriting, p. 590, 4 Poets of India, p 595; 5 Rules of versification, p 614, 6 Physiognomy, p 632, 7 Interpretation of dreams, p 644, 8 Science of respiration as peculiarly taught in Hindústán, p 661; 9 Astrology, and professors of it, p 666, 10. Music, p 696, 11. Agriculture, the best of all the arts, p 720, 12 Masonry, p 728, 13 Ironmongery, p 732, 14 Carpentry, p 733, 15 Commerce, p 736, 16 Painting, p 737, 17. Talismans, p 739, 18 Magic, p 751, 19 Handicrafts of various descriptions, including cookery, p 757, 20. Sayings of wise and witty persons, p 767 Chap vii Celebrated persons of Islám, p (?) —Book IV embraces an Introduction and eight Chapters Introduction The new and the old worlds, their cities, p 806, Chap i Kings of Írán, p 1072, ii Sultáns of Arabia, p 1299, iii Sultáns of Rúm, p 1330, iv Rulers of Egypt and Shám, p. 1352, v Sovereigns of the West, p 1363, vi. Sultáns of Turkistán, p 1378, vii Kings of Europe, including the institution of the British in India, their army, administration of justice, revenue, learning, etc, p 1457, viii. Rulers of Hindústán its different Provinces and inhabitants, p 1502.

The last chapter, though not subdivided in the Table Contents, contains several different chapters on the Brah Hindú Ceremonies, Avatárs, Early Hindú Rájas, Kings of

from Kutbu-d dín to Akbar Sháh II, Málwá, the Dakhin, Kashmír, Bengal, Jaunpúr, Sind, Oudh, the Mahrattas, etc.

SIZE—Large 8vo., containing 2082 pages, with 17 closely-written lines in each page.

I believe there is only one copy of the *Yadgár-i Bahádurí* in existence, the autograph of the author in my possession. I procured it from a bookseller at Lucknow [1]

[A considerable portion of this work, including the History of Kashmír, was translated for Sir H M Elliot, and the translation is among his papers]

EXTRACTS

Kanauj

Kanauj is a large city, and it is known to be very ancient Some say that it was built after the reign of the incarnate Rám Chand, the lord of Ayodhya (Oudh) However that may be, this city was from ancient times the seat of the throne of the Rájas of Hindústán. It appears from Hindí books that the city of Kanauj was several times populated, and several times deserted The city which at present exists was founded by Rája Fúr Kanaují, and in his time it is said to have been so densely inhabited, that there were one hundred and forty thousand shops [2] for the sale of betel-leaves only, from which we may derive an idea of its size.

The city stands on the banks of the Ganges, which now runs two *kos* from it, but during the rains it reaches it. It is said that Fúr Kanaují had a son, who, being offended with his father, went to Alláhábád, and made it his residence When his father died, he succeeded him in the government, and made Alláhábád the seat of his throne He assumed the name and title of his father In his time, Alexander of Rúm came to Hindústán Kaid Rája, the chief [3]

The climate of Kanauj is good and temperate It now lies in ruins, and is inhabited here and there like a village. It is

p. 6 [1] It is not now among Sir Henry's MSS]

v [2] Thirty thousand is the usual extravagant allowance in other accounts

[3] [A page of the translation is here wanting]

famous for its chintz, *chírah* (a kind of turban), and fruits of different kinds. At present, it is chiefly occupied by the Saiyids, (of Bokhárá) Saiyid Muhammad of Kanauj, the tutor of the Emperor Aurangzeb, is celebrated in the whole of Hindústán There were five very strong forts which belonged to this city, of which scarcely a vestige now remains [1] * *

Nawábs of Oudh

Be it not concealed that in the country of Hindústán there is a set of babblers and fools, who sit in the shops of hemp-sellers, and whatever comes into their minds they say with regard to the nobles, ministers, and the King himself Though their words have no connexion with truth, yet ignorant and foolish people, conceiving them to be true, spread them in all places For instance, the following story was originated by these absurd talkers. That one day Nádir Sháh said to Burhánu-l Mulk and Nizámu-l Mulk Ásaf Jáh, "You wrote me when I was in Kandahár, that if my royal servants should come in this direction, you would pay fifty *krors* of rupees into the treasury Where are now those rupees? Go, and bring them within three days, otherwise I will put you to death with great torture" Those nobles, having taken their leave, determined with each other to kill themselves, and thus save their honour. Nizámu-l Mulk took only a cup of water mixed with sugar, while Burhánu-l Mulk, on hearing of it, actually poisoned himself, and delivered his life to his Maker This is a direct falsehood The truth is, that Nawáb Burhánu-l Mulk had been troubled for some months with a boil. Notwithstanding his sickness, he took part in the battle which was fought with Nádir Sháh, and with the severity of the pain his holy soul departed to the heavens Ásaf Jáh had no animosity against Burhánu-l Mulk [2]

[1] The *Hadíkatu-l Akálím* says these were the five forts mentioned by the *Rauzatu-s Safá* as having been destroyed by Mahmúd in one day, but the *Rauzatu-s Safá* mentions seven which were so treated

[2] [See *suprà*, pp 64, 174]

Nawáb Burhánu-l Mulk left four daughters and one son by the daughter of Sálih Muhammad Khán Ásaf Jáh, besides the mother of Shujá'u-d daula His son, after some time, died of smallpox * *

It was at this time that the Nawáb (Shujá'u-d daula) marched towards Ágra, and having pitched his tents at Karya-ganj, sent word to Háfiz Rahmat Khán that he should now pay him the sum of forty *lacs* of rupees which had been paid on his account to the Mahrattas [1] Although Háfiz Rahmat Khán endeavoured to persuade the Afghán chiefs to pay the money due to the Nawáb, yet the Rohillas, who in their excessive pride thought that no one could stand before them, prepared to fight, and a great engagement ensued between the parties Just as the Rohillas had nearly completed the battle with the Nawáb Wazír, the English army came up to oppose them, and threw them into confusion by the heavy fire of its artillery In the midst of the fight, Háfiz Rahmat Khán with great intrepidity attacked the English army, and having killed a great number of men, drank the cup of martyrdom in the field The Rohillas took to flight, and Sultán Khán, brother of Murtazá Khán Baráichí, cut off the head of Háfiz Rahmat Khán, and presented it to the Nawáb Wazír, who ordered his joy to be expressed by the beat of drums Zú-l fikár Khán and Muhabbat Khán, sons of Háfiz Rahmat Khán, who were taken prisoners, were honoured with the grant of *khil'ats* Bahá'u-d daula 'Abdu-llah Khán of Kashmír, and Khán Muhammad Khán, the son of the sister of Háfiz Rahmat Khán, were the originators of this quarrel. Khán Muhammad Khán was given over to Muhabbat Khán, but 'Abdu-llah Khán was sent to prison His face was blackened, and he was placed on an ass, and paraded round the whole camp.

After this, the Nawáb Wazír marched towards Bundelkhand, and placed the Rohilla territory under the charge of Sídí Bashír Khán. He left Mirzá Sa'ádat 'Alí in Bareilly, and ordered Murtazá Khán Baráichí, Mahbúb 'Alí Khán, and Latáfat 'Alí

[1] [See *suprà*, p 310]

Khán to remain with his son, and never to step beyond the sphere of obedience. After some time, the Nawáb Wazír fell sick, and although very different accounts are given of his disease, yet the most correct one is that a boil broke out in his thigh, which, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the physicians, was never cured. It gave him more and more pain every day. In short, he suffered from it for a month and thirteen days, and expired on the night of the 24th Zí-l ka'da, 1188 A H. (28 Jan 1775)[1] The next morning he was buried in Guláb Bárí, which was designed for the burial-place of his venerated mother Though the servants of the Nawáb struck their heads against stones in their grief, yet the subjects of Faizábád were very glad at the event.

Before this Mukhtáru-d daula had disbanded the battalions which were under the command of Mír Afzal 'Alí. He was also seeking to injure both the Gusáíns, Umráo Gír, and Himmat Bahádur. He disbanded many divisions of the cavalry, and it was his intention to discharge the whole army, and enlist a new one of his own choice He was also waiting to find an opportunity of deposing Ásafu-d daula, and making himself master As Nawab Ásafu-d daula was as much addicted as a child to sports and trivial pursuits, and had no acquaintance with the business of the State, Mukhtáru-d daula, who had the power of employing and dismissing all the establishments, did what he liked. The Nawáb Wazír was at last sorry that he had obtained so much influence, and endeavoured to remove him

In these days, Mír Afzal 'Alí wrote a letter to Rája Jháú Lál, who submitted it to the Nawáb Wazír The Nawáb, after perusing it, kept silence, and tore the paper in pieces. In short, all the officers of the court of the Nawáb Wazír were united together to ruin Mukhtáru-d daula But he was not aware of it, and passed day and night drinking in the company of women Basant 'Alí Khán, the eunuch, was introduced to Mukhtáru-d daula, and was adopted by him as his son. He wore the ring of

[1] [See *suprà*, p 395]

obedience in his ear, and was day and night present before him Mirzá Sa'ádat Alí Khán joined Basant, and it was agreed that Basant should kill Mukhtáru-d daula, and that he should kill Ásafu-d daula, and seat himself upon the *masnad.* Basant 'Alí Khán did not tell this secret to his other friends Had he made them his confidants, the design might have been fulfilled; but by his concealment, the opportunity was lost Mír Muhammad Amín, son of Mirzá Yúsuf the blind, having become acquainted with the design, associated with Mirzá Sa'ádat 'Alí Khán

One day, Basant 'Alí Khán invited Mukhtáru-d daula to dine in his house, and to see the cold bath which he had made Mukhtaru-d daula, ignorant of the treacherous destinations of the heavens, accepted this last entertainment, and rode to the bath, the place of his murder, which fate had prepared for him After the dinner was over, dancing and drinking began When Mukhtáru-d daula had become drunk, Basant 'Alí Khán left the place on some pretence, after which, five ruffians, who had been appointed for the purpose, entered the room, and one of them, whose name was Mír Tálib 'Alí, put an end to Mukhtáru-d daula's existence with a dagger

When the news of this tragedy spread in the camp, Tafazzul Husain Khán reported it to Mirzá Sa'ádat 'Alí Khán, who, arming himself, proceeded on horseback towards the tent of Ásafu-d daula, but Basant 'Alí Khán had arrived at the Nawáb's before him sword in hand, and exclaimed that he had killed Mukhtáru d daula The Nawáb cried, "What! have you come here with a drawn sword to slay me also?" He said this, and made a signal to Rája Nawáz Singh, who with one blow of his sword put Basant to death In the mean time, came the uncle of Basant, whose name was Khwája Ghulám Muhammad Khán, and he aimed a blow at Rája Nawáz Singh One Ghulám 'Alí Khán rose to attack Ghulám Muhammad Khán, but Nawab Ásafu-d daula prevented him, and sent Ghulám Muhammad away with great honour. It was immediately after this that Mirzá Sa'ádat 'Alí Khán reached the

tent of Ásafu-d daula; but having heard what had passed, returned to his own, and thence, accompanied by Tafazzul Husain Khán, hastened to the tent of Gusáín Umráo Gír, who placed him in a boat which belonged to himself, and having given him a mare and some money, sent him off to a place of safety, where some friends afterwards joined him These events took place in the month of Safar, 1190 A H (March-April, 1776 A.D)

CL

JÁMI'U-T TAWÁRÍKH

OF

FAKÍR MUHAMMAD

THE author of this work is Fakír Muhammad, son of Kází Muhammad Rizá, inhabitant of Rájapúr, *pargana* of Sántapúr in Bengal

The author says that he was from his youth devoted to historical studies, and he gives a list of all the works which he had collected and read, but none of them are of any novelty or peculiar interest His compendium, however, is useful to the student of Asiatic history. It was printed at Calcutta in 1836 A D at the press of Munshí Irádatu-llah, and the press was corrected by Maulaví Khádim Husain, a teacher in the Calcutta College

The work is divided into fourteen Sections

CONTENTS.

The first eleven Sections contain, after the universal Eastern model, accounts of the Angels, Jinns, Prophets, Philosophers, Kings of Persia, Muhammad, his wives and battles, the Khalífs, Imáms, the 'Ummayides, the 'Abbásides, and their contemporary

Kings, and the Kháns of the East and Turkistán, p. 1. Section twelfth relates to the successors of Tímúr, the Mahrattas, the Rulers of Oudh and Bengal, and the commencement of the British dominion in India, p 334 Section thirteenth gives a description of the inhabited portion of the world, and its seven grand divisions, p 376 Section fourteenth relates to the Hindús, the invasion of the Muhammadans, and the Royal families of India, *and closes with a brief account of America*, p. 391

SIZE—4to , containing 410 pages of 27 lines each.

EXTRACT.

Establishment of British Supremacy, the Death of Nawab Siraju-d daula[1]

The capricious and puerile conduct pursued by Siráju-d daula from time to time, such as planting guns against the palace of Mír Muhammad Ja'far Khán, placing Rája Dúlabh Rám under the command of Mohan Lál, and threatening Jagat Seth that he would have him circumcised, actuated the latter and several other influential persons to enter into a confederacy against the Nawáb With the view, therefore, of overthrowing his power, Jagat Seth sent a message to the English, to the effect that, could they but agree to second the efforts of his party in attacking and overcoming Siráju-d daula, thousands of people would be rescued from his oppression and tyranny Jagat Seth at the same time promised to present the English with the sum of three *krors* of rupees in the event of the successful issue of their operations On the receipt of this message, the gallant English, on the plea of the delay on the part of the Nawáb to pay the amount of compensation due by him, prepared to take the field against him, with a body of two or three thousand troops Siráju-d daula saw no alternative but to march from Murshidábád with his disaffected chiefs The adverse parties met at Plassy, where the flames of war blazed on Thursday, the 5th of Shawwál, 1170 A H. (23rd June, 1757 A D)

[1] [See *suprà*, p 211]

Mír Madan and Mohan Lál, advancing foremost, opened a galling fire from their guns. Just at this time a cannon-ball accidentally striking Mír Madan, he was left dead in the field of battle This sad event altogether dispirited Siráju-d daula, who now entreated Mír Muhammad Ja'far Khán and Muhammad Sádik Khán (*alias* Míran), in the most humiliating and abject terms, to do their utmost to preserve his life and honour, in consideration of the ties of relationship which subsisted between them, and on account of the many favours which he and his family had formerly bestowed on them The Mír, thinking this a fair opportunity of deceiving him, and thus depriving him of his power, advised him to recall the troops in advance, especially as the day had come to a close, and to recommence hostilities on the following day.

Siráju-d daula, the victim of deceit, issued orders to Mohan Lál, who was then engaged, to desist from fighting any longer that day Mohan Lál remonstrated, remarking that if he were to withdraw the troops from the field, it would not be possible to concentrate them again But the unfortunate Nawáb persisting in his determination, Mohan Lál was obliged to cease fighting Scarcely had he, however, left the field, when his troops fled, while the chiefs who were disaffected to the Nawáb looked on with indifference Siráju-d daula, seeing that all was lost, in great agitation of mind repaired to Mansur-ganj here he placed Latífu-n Nissa, and several other females, on cars or litters, with such portions of precious stones and gold *muhars* as he thought could be safely conveyed in them With these, and elephants laden with baggage, he quitted the place after midnight, and on arriving at Bhagwan-gola, he with his family embarked in boats, and went towards Patna.

After the retreat of Siráju-d daula, Mír Muhammad Ja'far Khán remained one day at Plassy, and concluding a treaty with Colonel Clive and the other English officers, on his arrival at Mansúr-ganj, he was placed on the *masnad* On his accession to power, he caused to be engraved on his seal the titles of Shujá'u-l

Mulk Hisámu-d daula Mír Muhammad Ja'far Khán Bahádur Mahábat Jang; and in conjunction with Rája Dúlabh Rám, he directed his attention to the settlement of the affairs of the State. He also ordered all the property of Sirája-d daula to be seized, and despatched his own son-in-law, Mír Muhammad Kásim Khán, in pursuit of Sirája-d daula

The fugitive Nawáb had about this time arrived opposite Rájmahál, where he disembarked, and put up at the dwelling of a *fakír* named Dáná Sháh While Sirája-d daula was engaged in preparing his food, the *fakír* gave secret information to his pursuers, who seized the Nawáb, together with his family, and brought them to Murshidábád on the 15th of Shawwál, on which date he was, by order of Mír Míran, put to death by the hands of Muhammad Beg. Sirája-d daula was *Súbadar* of Bengal for one year two months and twenty-seven days

Mír Muhammad Ja'far Khán and his son Míran, finding the time suited to their purpose, resigned themselves to a life of ease and pleasure, and ceased to pay tribute to the King Mír Muhammad Ja'far also ceased giving alms On being asked the reason of it, he said that while under Mahábat Jang ('Alívardí Khán) he felt no difficulty in spending money, it was like bestowing a little water from a river, but now that he himself was in possession of the whole property, he could not spare a penny even to a friend Mír Ja'far Khán soon after imprisoned Ghasítí Begam and Amína Begam, daughters of Mahábat Jang ('Alívardí Khán), and the wife, daughter, and mother of Sirája-d daula, and sent them to Jahángír-nagar

The impure Míran used without the least hesitation to commit murder He killed Khwája Hádí 'Alí Khán and Mír Kázim Khán, and blew Sadákat Muhammad Khán Zamíndár and Shaikh 'Abdu-l Wahháb Kambu from the mouth of a cannon. He murdered many others, both men and women.

Míran was preparing to attack Khádim Husain Khán, nephew of Mír Muhammad Ja'far Khán, who was at that time raising disturbances on the other side of 'Azímábád. Having conceived

some suspicion of the two daughters of Mahábat Jang, he ordered them to be conveyed in a boat to the middle of the river, and to be there thrown overboard, in the mean time making the Begams believe that they were to go to Murshidábád. When Amína Begam and Ghasítí Begam were taken to the appointed place, they were informed of the cause of their being conveyed thither. The two sisters, after bathing and putting on clean clothes, cursed Míran, saying, "O God, we have done no harm to Míran, who, having brought ruin on our family, and deprived our brothers of their rights, is now about to put us to death We pray that he may soon be struck dead by lightning for his cruel deeds" Their prayer was heard, for Míran, after arriving in the vicinity of Hájípúr, attacked Khádim Husain Khán, and after defeating him, pursued him, but during the pursuit, on Thursday night, the 19th Zí-l ka'da, in the year 1173 A H. (4th July, 1760 A.D), while it was raining, a thunderbolt descended and struck Míran and his servant dead.

Míran's remains were buried at Rájmahál Mír Muhammad Ja'far Khán became insane after hearing of the death of his son, and this led to great disorder in the management of the State.

CLI

JÁM-I JAM

OF

SAIYID AHMAD KHÁN.

"The Cup or Mirror of Jamshíd," who is confounded by Eastern fabulists with Solomon[1] This cup was found filled with the Elixir of Immortality, upon the occasion of digging the foundations of Persepolis, and as it mirrored the whole world, this expression, or some other allusive to it, is not uncommonly applied to works on history, and the *Jám-i Jahán-numá*, i e. "the World-reflector," mentioned in page 158 of this Volume, is a title commonly bestowed upon the same magic mirror Nizámí tells us that Alexander invented the steel mirror, by which it has been supposed allusion is made to the improved reflectors introduced by the Greeks.

The *Jám-i Jam* comprises tables of the Princes of the house of Tímúr, beginning with that Emperor, including also the Saiyid and Afghán Dynasties, and ending with Muhammad Bahádur Sháh, the reigning King of Dehlí at the time of publication, giving altogether forty-three reigns The tables show the name of each King's father and mother, his tribe, date of birth, place of accession, age at the time of accession, Hijra year of accession, chronogram of accession, period of reign, legend on coins, age at time of death, year of death, chronogram of death, honorific title after death, place of burial, and a very brief abstract of important events

[1] See Rampoldi, *Annali Musulmani*, vol ii p 403, and W Thompson, *Akhlák-i-Jalály*, pp 37, 466 The *Haft Kulzum* says it is more correct to consider the cup as the manufacture of Kai-Khusrú

These useful tables were lithographed at Ágra, in the year 1840 A.D., and at the conclusion is given a list of several excellent authorities, from which the compiler drew his information, though it must be confessed that some doubt may reasonably be entertained whether these authorities were really appealed to, for a private correspondence which I have held with the author on the subject has failed to elicit any information with respect either to their contents or their present possessors. Indeed, some which are quoted contain nothing whatever calculated to elucidate the period he had under review.

The author is Munshí Saiyid Ahmad Khán, Munsif of Dehlí, who has also written and lithographed at Dehlí a very good description of the remarkable buildings of that capital, accompanied with lithographed representations of them. In the Preface to the *Jám-i Jam*, he gives his genealogy, and details the several honours acquired by his fathers. His ancestor in the ninth generation, who came originally from Hirát, was appointed *Subadar* of Bídar, which he takes care to inform us is equivalent in the English language to "Governor-General." Another was a *Kazi*, equivalent to "Sessions Judge." His maternal grandfather, Khwája Farídu-d dín Ahmad Khán, was sent to condole with the King of Persia when his ambassador, Hájí Khalíl Khán was killed in an affray at Bombay. The same pride of ancestry is exhibited by his elder brother, Saiyid Muhammad Khán, in the Preface to the excellent copy of Jahángír's Autobiography collated by him, only, instead of construing *Súbadár* to mean "Governor-General," he is content with the humbler definition of "Governor."

SIZE—Large 8vo

CLII.

MAJMA'U-L MULÚK

AND

ZUBDATU-L GHARÁ'IB

OF

MUHAMMAD RIZÁ

THE author of these works is Muhammad Rizá, son of Abú-l Názim Hasaní Husainí, who was honoured with the titles of Najmu-d daula Iftikháru-l Mulk Hisám Jang

The author is a Saiyid of the Tibátibá family, which, after leaving Medína, went to reside at Isfahán, and remained for many generations employed in the Royal Record Office In the time of Bahádur Sháh his ancestor in the fifth generation came to Hindústán, and after being received with great kindness by that Emperor, entered the service of Nawáb Burhánu-l Mulk Abú-l Mansúr Khán Safdar Jang, and ever since that his family have continued in the service of the Nawábs of Oudh

His father was employed for some time in Bareilly, and subsequently became minister to the pageant King of Dehlí The author himself remained for nine years as Native Revenue Collector of Bareilly After that district had been ceded to the Company, and after the death of his father, he became deputy steward of the household, and *darogha* of the treasury of the King of Dehlí When the provinces of Nágpúr and Gondwána were under the management of the Company, he remained for several years employed in those provinces by the British Government, and being held in great respect by his superiors, he passed his time in great comfort and happiness, except when the re-

flection came over him, that he was far removed from his relatives, and, being surrounded by Sunnís and Káfirs, might run some risk of abandoning the Shí'a religion. At last, he returned to Lucknow, and has remained ever since without any public employ.

He gives us this account of himself in the Preface to the *Mafátihu-r Riásat*, and adds that his leisure was by no means idly wasted, for he was not unobservant of the passing events of the day, and knowing that gold and jewels were fleeting possessions, and were not regarded in so precious a light as wisdom in the eyes of discerning patrons, he determined upon writing a work which would immortalize his name, and in furtherance of this resolve, he abstracted one hundred and fifty works, which treated of religion and history, and made use of these abstracts in the large work of which the present volume is a portion

The entire work is called *Bahru-l Zakhkhar*, "The Tempestuous Sea," and comprises the following volumes —

I *Mazáhiru-l Adyán*, which treats of the different religions of the world, and chiefly of the Muhammadan faith, the Muhammadan Saints and Sects, Saiyid Ahmad, etc, comprised in 542 pages folio, containing 23 lines each —II *Manzaru-l 'A'lam*, which treats of Astronomy and Geography, and is still incomplete for want of some philosophical instruments which the author is unable to procure It is also called *Khúrshíd-i Lámi'*, "The Resplendent Sun," as the words contain the chronogram of the date 1261 A H (1845 A D) Its present size extends to 224 pages folio, of 20 lines each —III *Majma'u-l Mulúk*, the subject of the present article —IV *Mafátihu-r Riasat.*—V *Akhbarát-i Hind*, the subject of the succeeding article —VI *Naghma-i 'Andalíb*, on the subject of poetry, music, Hindú and Persian, the rules of versification, and a biography of the Poets. A small folio volume of 300 pages, and 20 lines to a page

This large work was commenced about the year 1260 A D (1844 A D) It may be considered the second edition of another work, which the industrious author composed in five volumes

between the years 1816 and 1830, under the name of *Zubdatu-l Gharáib*,[1] "The Marrow of Marvels;" but it is strange that in the Preface to his later work he never alludes to the former one. Though it is not divided in the same way, he has fully availed himself in the *Bahru-l Zakhkhár* of the matter contained in the *Zubdatu-l Gharáib*. That work is distributed in the following manner, but each volume has not a separate designation

I. The first to the fifth Book give an account of the Creation, Jinns, early Prophets, Muhammad, the Khalífs and Imáms, II. The sixth and seventh Books give an account of the early Kings of Persia, the 'Ummayides, 'Abbásides, Saljuks, Atábaks, and other independent Muhammadan Monarchies, III The eighth Book, on the Hindús and the Sultáns of Dehlí, Gujarát, Málwá, the Dakhin, etc, IV The ninth Book, on the Tímúrian dynasty of Hindústán, and the establishment of British supremacy, V. The tenth Book, on the Philosophers, Poets, Saints, and literary characters

The author, not satisfied with so much prose, has also indited poetry, and has assumed the poetical designation of *Najm* "a star," under which head he appropriates an article to himself in the biographical portions of these works. In that article we find that it is his intention some day or other to write his personal memoirs, and give an account of the celebrated characters with whom he has associated

The *Majma'u-l Mulúk* is not regularly divided into Chapters or Books

CONTENTS

[1] In the chronogram which gives the date of 1231 A H (1846 A D), the author calls the work *Zubda Gharaib*, without the Arabic article

of Dehlí, p. 250; On the Kings of Jaunpúr, Málwá, Gujarát, the Dakhin, etc., p 288, On the Tímúrian Sovereigns of India, p 360.

Size—Folio, containing 458 pages, with 26 lines to a page

The transactions in this volume do not extend beyond the short-lived reign of Sháh Jahán II., and are recorded in so abridged a form as to be of very little interest Indeed, of both entire works, the *Bahru-l Zakkhár* and *Zubdatu-l Gharáib,* he says that "he has compressed his matter into so small a space, that it is like placing the ocean in the palm of the hand, or a desert within a span's length

The *Majma'u-l Mulúk* is at present very little known My copy was obtained from the author direct

CLIII

AKHBÁRÁT-I HIND

OF

MUHAMMAD RIZÁ

THIS volume is by the same author, and forms part of the *Bahr-i Zakhhár*. The words of the title form the date of the completion of the volume, viz. 1264 A.H. (1847-8 A.D.)

The work contains at the beginning some matter which is included in the *Majma'u-l Muluk*, but the greater part of the volume embraces a much later period than that work extends to, for we have an account of the Sutlej campaigns, and our first entry into Láhore Much of this latter portion is included in the fourth volume, the *Mafátihu-r Riasat*

CONTENTS.

Preface, p. 1, Hindú dates and religions, the boundaries of Hindústán, its subjection to the Kings of Írán, and the introduction of the Muhammadan religion into Hindústán, etc, p 2, Ghaznivides, Ghorians, Khiljís, Tughliks, and Afgháns of Dehlí, p 31, Kings of Jaunpúr, Málwá, Gujarát, and the Dakhin, etc, p 48, Tímúrian sovereigns of Dehlí, down to 'Alamgír II, p 68, Sháh 'Álam, p 125, Muhammad Akbar II., p. 173; English in India, p 200, Nawábs of Oudh, p. 263, Afgháns of Farrukhábád, p 356, Rájpúts and Játs, p 374, Nizáms of the Dakhin, Haidar 'Alí, Típú Sultán, etc, p 407, Mahrattas, p 437, Sikhs and Bundelas, p. 485

SIZE—Folio, containing 522 pages of 20 lines each

Although this volume was so lately composed, the author

seems to be again re-writing it, for in a letter with which he has favoured me, I find he is enlarging it, and has divided it into thirteen different Chapters. In his old age he seems to have preserved his literary energies unimpaired, and it is to be hoped that he has in the mean time studied to make himself better acquainted with matters of European politics and science, than he was when he indited his first edition

EXTRACT

Governor-General Marquis Wellesley

This nobleman resembling Joseph in beauty and Suhráb in the field of battle, was lord of the country of generosity, and master of liberality and benevolence. The pen in writing his name turns to a sugar-cane in the hand of the composer, and the gale of the spring is rendered fragrant by his munificence He received his instruction in England, from the brother of Lord Cornwallis The laws of Hindústán were the chief object of his study Some years before, he had been in the Dakhin, and rendered valuable services there First, the French had acquired great power and influence in the country around Haidarábád, an account of which shall be given in the chapter which contains a history of that city, but this wise nobleman by his judicious measures expelled them thence in such a manner that they put down their arms, acknowledged their pusillanimity, and were driven out of the Ásaf's (Nizám's) State Instead of a French, an English army was employed, and a handsome annual contribution of upwards of thirty *lacs* was fixed for its maintenance by the government of Haidarábád

After this, the army which was stationed in Madras, at the very time that an expedition was setting out against Típú Sultan the son of Haidar Náik, espoused the interests of Típú, such an enemy as the English never have had or will have to contend with in India Wellesley, having settled affairs at Haidarábád, went to Madras, collected the English forces, and having animated and encouraged the troops, who were quite exhausted and dispirited,

on account of having been engaged in warfare for twelve or fourteen years, and having given them hopes of obtaining plunder, prepared them to sell their lives He thus destroyed the Sultán, took possession of Seringapatam and its fort, and obtained plunder to the amount of *krors* of rupees ; among which there was a tent which was presented to the Nawáb Wazír of Lucknow, and the like of which was never prepared even in that State

In short, he adorned the chair of governorship in 1798 A D. Every one felt satisfied and consoled, because he appreciated merit, and was a master of wisdom and the pen As the Honourable Company was greatly in debt, no one would take the government paper at four per cent., so in his time it was raised to twelve per cent. The army was largely augmented by new levies In his time, too, orders were given to the English presses to print books relating to the Hindu religion, such as the Rámáyana, etc The College of Fort William was founded, and every officer who landed from English ships in Hindústán was first taught in it the language of this country, and was admitted into the public service only after examination

Next year the Governor-General demanded a contribution from the Nawáb Wazír, and the territory which was possessed by him was divided equally between both the governments Territory to the value of one *kror* and thirty-five *lacs* of rupees, which afterwards increased to an annual revenue of two *krors*, was added to the possessions of the British Government. The copy of the treaty, with a full detail of it, will be given in the chapter on the Wazárat

After the acquisition of these two territories, viz that of Típú and that ceded by the Nawáb Wazír, which extended from Alláhábád up to Farrukhábád, the English prepared themselves for the Mahratta campaign, and in 1803 A.D a battle was fought with Sindhia and Holkar, an account of which shall be given in the history of the Peshwás and the Dakhiní chiefs

General Wellesley, the brother of the Governor-General, who

commanded the Dakhin army, defeated the Mahrattas, and having placed Bájí Ráo Peshwá on the *masnad*, took a small portion of the territory of the Dakhin and half of Gujarát for the British Government. Afterwards, the English defeated the Bhonsla Mahrattas, and took some territory from them also Then they conquered the entire provinces of Dehlí and Ágra, and repulsed the French army which was in the pay of the Mahrattas. They also gave a signal defeat to Har Náth, the bondsman of Holkar, at Sháh-Jahánábád.

General Gerard Lord Lake was appointed to command the army which was despatched towards the west He achieved great conquests, an account of which has been given above, in the general history of the Empire Battles were also fought with Amír Khán, and a large tract of country fell into the hands of the English in the districts of Kálpí and Bánda The Government then regulated the affairs of the King of Dehlí; and an annual sum of fifteen *lacs* of rupees was sanctioned for His Majesty's expenses After this, they made an arrangement for the temple of Jagannáth, which is a celebrated Hindú place of worship and pilgrimage in the district of Orissa, and assigned a small portion of the income derived from it to the Brahmins and guardians of the temple They prohibited the custom of drowning children at Gangáságar

In short, before the arrival of this Governor-General, the Honourable Company's territory did not exceed seven *krors* of rupees in revenue, but through the great prosperity of this conquering noble, it increased to such an extent that it yielded an annual revenue of about fifteen *krors*

The Regulation, according to which *tahsildars* were allowed to take one-tenth of the revenue realized through them remained in force for six years, and the doors of prosperity were opened upon the face of the world. Notwithstanding that for the conquest of territory an expenditure of *krors* of rupees is necessary, yet the Court of Directors would not open their eyes to the necessity They still thought that, as of old, their servants might reside in

the country as merchants and aliens, without taking the whole of Hindústán into their grasp. They did not know that now, on every inch of land, enemies, who possessed large forces, such as the Mahrattas and the Pindárís, had arisen. They also did not do the Governor-General the justice to consider how much country he had conquered, and to what extent he had augmented the annual revenue of the Government From want of information, they reproached him for the enormous expenses he had incurred in his undertakings In the same manner as they had treated Colonel Clive and Governor Hastings, they brought groundless accusations against this Governor-General also Lord Moira in England persisted more than any one else in his opposition. Consequently Lord Wellesley resigned the government and returned home Lord Cornwallis was then a second time sent to Hindústán by the Court of Directors He travelled as far as Gházípúr, and then expired In short, the Marquis governed with full authority for a period of ten entire years, having gained thousands of thanks and praises in Hindústán

CLIV

MIFTÁHU-T TAWÁRÍKH

OF

THOMAS WILLIAM BEALE

THIS "Key of History" is a work highly creditable to the industry and ingenuity of the compiler, Mr Thomas William Beale, a clerk in the office of the Board of Revenue at Ágra

He has collected in this volume the many chronogrammatic dates relating to important events in Asia, and especially in India, since the introduction of the Hijra era. In these are included the exact year and date of the births and deaths of Muhammadan kings, philosophers, and other eminent men He has extracted them from the most celebrated histories in which they are carefully recorded, and he has copied the memorial inscriptions on tombs, mosques, gardens, tanks, forts and palaces He has himself, as have also his friends, composed several new ones, which are inserted in the work. The Christian, Hindí, Faslí, Illáhí and Jalálí eras are also occasionally given

Although, to a superficial observer, this mode of recording events may appear a veritable mataiotechnia, yet it is not without great use in any disputed point of chronology, for it does not admit of any errors, as in the case of numerals, since not only meaning, but in most instances rhyme and scansion, are required for a perfect comprehension of the dates To them might we with justice transfer Joseph Scaliger's address to the venerable Olympiads "Hail, ye guardians of time, ye vindicators of the truth of history, ye bridlers of the fanatical licence of chronologists!"

This kind of memoria technica was never in much use in Europe, although the Roman system of notation admits of it. In ancient literature it seems to have been altogether unknown, and even in modern times, when, in the middle of the sixteenth century, the taste for anagrammatic trifling was so strong, it was seldom applied to this more useful purpose.

The following instances will show to the European reader the use and application of a chronogram, by combining the numerical values attached to the capital letters according to the Roman system —

gloria lausque Deo sæCLorVM in sæcVla sunto,

but this is a very lame instance, as some letters, which have a value assigned to them, are omitted from the computation.

A better example is to be found in the distich composed by Godart, on the birth of Louis XIV, in the year 1638, on a day wherein there happened to be a conjunction of the Eagle with the Lion's Heart

eXorIens DeLphIn aqVILæ CorDIsqVe LeonIs
CongressV gaLLos spe LætItIaqVe refeCIt

In the Persian system, which is called *Jummal* (Addition), the letters of the alphabet have a numerical value assigned to them, according to a particular scale styled *Abjad*, because the first four units are represented by that word, *a* being equal to 1, *b* to 2, *j* to 3, *d* to 4. The sentence which contains the date should always be significant the consequence is, that awkward methods are sometimes resorted to in order to combine both sense and chronology.

There are four principal modes of using the scale.

1st *Mutlak*, in which all the letters are requisite to the formation of the date. There is an inferior kind of *Mutlak*, in which only some of the letters of the text are used.

2nd. *Ta'miya-dákhili*, in which the numerical value of the letters used is less than the date required, in which case we are told that some other word or letter will complete the date.

3rd. *Ta'miya-khárji*, the contrary of the preceding, in which

the numerical value is excessive, and we are therefore told that we must deduct some word or letter.

4th. *Taushík*, an acrostic, in which the initial or final letter of each verse composes the date

All these kinds are illustrated in various parts of this work, and we may suppose that, under the licence granted in the second and third instances, some of them are very ill-constructed. Many however, exhibit, to say the least, great inventive faculty

Take, for instance, the example at p 309, where in thirty-one distichs the first line throughout represents the date of Akbar's accession, and the second line throughout represents the date of Jahángír's birth Or take the following from p 219

٩٣٧ ٣١ ٣١ ٩٣٧

بادشاه وهر بابر باکمال عدل بود واقف احسان عالم مصدر لطف آل

۴۲۰ ۵۱۷ ۵۱۷ ۴۲

سال جان اوگردن جانفردوش بگو جای فردوس آمد بگرید بابر بادشاه

This quatrain represents the death of Bábar in eight different ways, each hemistich by itself represents the date they therefore give the date four times The fifth is obtained by combining the unpointed letters of the first hemistich with the pointed letters of the second hemistich The sixth, by taking the unpointed letters of the second hemistich. The seventh, by taking the pointed letters of the second line, and the eighth, by combining the unpointed letters of the second line.

I have a chronogrammatical treatise in my possession which evinces even more labour than this In it the events of Bengal in 1170 A H are related in prose, and each separate sentence gives the date of 1170, and the number of sentences amounts also to 1170 The narrative runs in so easy a flow that it would be difficult, without knowing it, to surmise that there was anything artificial about its construction.

There are other works of a similar nature to this which have

been written in India, such as the *Tárikh-náma*, and a few others with like names, but none so copious or so well arranged as this

The *Miftáhu-t Tawáríkh* was lithographed at Ágra in 1849 The outer margin very conveniently contains a column, in which is inserted each date in numerals, and in regular chronological succession It possesses other advantages, besides giving the mere dates It gives short notices of each Asiatic dynasty, and a brief account of each reign, as well as several biographical notices of distinguished individuals who have shone in the politics and literature of the Muhammadan world

The *Miftáhu-t Tawárikh* is divided into thirteen Sections, each representing a Century of the Hijra

CONTENTS

Some of the most conspicuous Indian dynasties and reigns occur at the following pages —Ghaznivide Dynasty, p 51, Ghorian Dynasty, p 79, Tímúr, p 159; Sultáns of Málwá p 185, Sultáns of the Dakhin, p 190, Sultáns of Gujarát, p. 202, Bábar, p. 215; Sher Sháh, p. 226, Humáyún, p. 237, Akbar, p. 245, Jahángír, p 308, Sháh-Jahán, p 344, Aurangzeb, p 394, Bahádur Sháh, p 446, Muhammad Sháh, p. 459, Sháh 'Álam, p 516, Akbar II, p 565

SIZE—Quarto, containing 609 pages of 25 lines each

END OF VOL VIII

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL INDEX

GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

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* *The asterisk (*) calls attention to the additions and corrections at the end*

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

[The notes to which the name of *Yule* are appended have been taken from an article on Rashídu d dín's Geography by Col H Yule in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol IV New Series For most of the other additions I am indebted to the local knowledge of Mr Blochmann, of the Calcutta Madrasa, to Mr Burgess, Archæological Surveyor, and, through the latter, to Mr W F Sinclair, Bombay Civil Service —J D]

'Aisí, the country of 'Aisí, means the country of 'Isá or 'Isá Khán

Alang A variant reading in vii 17, gives "Lalang," and the real name is Laling or Naling "The fort is neither large nor strong, and stands about 800 feet above the plain, seven miles from Dholiya."

Alláhapúr, probably "Álhanpúr," near Rantambhor

Andol, properly "Erandol," on the route from Burhánpúr to Dholiya

Arú and Barlak (i 71) were both petty states of Sumatra *Arú* "was apparently on the eastern coast of the Batta country, below the Assahan river.

term Júdı to Adam's Peak is curious Sir E Tennent mentions that a Samaritan version of the Pentateuch, and an Arabic version of the same in the Bodleian Library, both substitute Sarendip for Ararat in the narrative of the Deluge As Júdí is the Ark Mountain of the Muhammadans, it looks as if Rashidu-d dín held the same tradition "—*Yule*

Júsáf, or "Jhosi"

Júnd, in the Dakhin, properly "Cháwand"

Kábal (i 72) "Again read *Kúl*, which is the point of starting "—*Yule*

Kághziwára, or "Kághazwádá, a large village on the plateau of Rozah, or Khuldábád"

Kalida, correctly "Káliyáda"

Kandahat, Kandahár, Kandana, } i 445, ii 249, 473 These names all refer to the same place Sir H M Elliot (i. 445) identified it with Khandadár "on the north-west angle" of Káthiwár But Khándádhár is situated about eight miles N E of Gondal, almost in the centre of the peninsula, 60 miles from the nearest coast, so that it does not answer to the accounts of the historians or to the position assigned to it by Elliot. Mr Burgess suggests Kanthkot, or Kanthgarh, in Kachh It is a very strong place, and was the fastness of the Chálukya kings in their days of adversity The description given of the tide by Ibn Asír and the *Taríkh-i Alfi* evidently applies to the Ran, and there can be little doubt of Kanthkot being the place Mahmúd probably crossed near Mália, where Nizámu-d dín Ahmad crossed in Akbar's reign, as described by himself in v 445

Kanjh ferry, read "Kicha"

Kanwahín, read "Kánw-wáhan"

Karájáng (i 73) "The name applied by the Mongols to the great Province of Yunán The other name here applied to it, *Kandahar*, is more obscure"—*Yule*

Kardaráyá (i 72) "Probably *Godavery* in some form"—*Yule*

Karoha (i 68) "Probably Gheriah, *in after-days the fortress of Angria*"—*Yule*

Kayúla, read "Kabúla," in the Panjáb.

Khaesár, viii. p xvii, Preface

Khorandi, read "Ghor-nadí"

Kicha, incorrectly "Kichar"

Kidhúr, read "Gidhor," in Bhágalpúr District

Kinkúta, properly "Gangút."

Kowah River, properly "Godah" or "Gúdi," i e the Gumti

Kúdí (or Gúdí) The Gumti river

Kúlam "The *Kaulam*, *Columbum*, *Coilon*, of many travellers from the ninth century downwards, surviving in decay as *Quilon*"—*Yule*

Kuni, viii p xix, Preface

Kúrakhúr, probably "Gorakhúr"

Lákwáram (i 71) "This should no doubt be *Nákwáram*, the *Necuveram* of Polo, Nicobar Islands Their ambergris and naked folk are standing topics down a long chain of travellers"—*Yule*

Lámúrí (p 70) "The island of Lámúrí is certainly Sumatra, with especial reference to its north-west extremity (not north east, as in Sir H Elliot's note)"—*Yule*

Mahúchín (i 71) "This is Canton Odoric, John Marignolli, Wassáf, Ibn Batúta, and Rashidu d dín himself elsewhere, give it the same name in the Persian form of *Chín-Kalán*"—*Yule*

Mali Fatan (i 69) *Malifattan* is presumably the Manifattan of Abulfeda, mentioned by him as a city on the coast of Ma bar I find Malipatan marked in a map which accompanies a letter from Père Bouchet in the *Lettres Edifiantes* It there occupies a position on the shore of Palk's Bay, a little north of where our maps show *Devipatan*, but perhaps identical therewith • This is very probably the medieval Malifattan (Lett Edif, first ed 1722, Rec XV, Lyons ed 1819, vol vii)—*Yule*

Mandal and Teri, read "Mandal Pátrí" in Jháláwar

Mansúr, probably intended for "Mandisor"

Milwat, properly "Malot"

Múranjan, now known as "Prabhal"

Naghaz, correctly "Naghar"

Náran goe, viii p xix, Preface

Nárkoti, viii p xix, Preface

Núh o Batal (iv 87), read "Noh and Tappal" See Elliot's Glossary, vol ii. p 97

[illegible]

GENERAL INDEX.

THE END.

STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, PRINTERS, HERTFORD